

## THE PHONOLOGY OF BUDAPEST YIDDISH

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. It has been observed that the lack of adequate data about the different tracts and localities of European "Yiddishland" is one of the greatest sources of difficulty of Yiddish dialect research.<sup>1</sup> This diagnosis is particularly justified with respect to the Western dialects of Yiddish. It is apparent from the contributions of F. Guggenheim-Grünberg, F. J. Beranek, P. Garvin, and others that some important problems concerning the history of Yiddish cannot be solved unless more complete information about the surviving Western Yiddish dialects is obtained. Hungary as the most southeastern part of the Central European Yiddish settlement is of no less importance. A glance into the literature shows how neglected this field of Yiddish has been.<sup>2</sup> P. Garvin has in this volume (pp. 92-115) surveyed the geographical structure of Hungarian Yiddish; I should like to supplement his article by further information about the Yiddish dialect spoken in the capital of Hungary at present. This description is restricted to the living dialect spoken by older people in both parts of the capital, Buda and Pest, in family circles, among friends, and by orthodox persons in religious life.<sup>3</sup> Let it be noted that the state of the language as obtained from the informants reflects the usage before and at the turn of our century. Since that time, and particularly since World War I, the original Western Yiddish dialect of Hungary has been greatly influenced by the Central Yiddish of the *üntarlendər* 'lowlanders', coming mostly from Carpathorussia.<sup>4</sup> In Budapest itself, however, the formation of com-

<sup>1</sup> U. Vaynraykh, [The Phonemic Structure of a Podolian Yiddish Dialect], *Yuda A. Yofe-bukh*, New York, 1958, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Uriel and Beatrice Weinreich, *Yiddish Language and Folklore*, The Hague, 1959, esp. pp. 27ff.

<sup>3</sup> The historical phonology of the dialect is to be analyzed in a separate article, to appear in *Acta linguistica* (Budapest).

<sup>4</sup> In connection with the problem *äübarland—ünterland*, cf. C. J. Hutterer, "Adalékok a *felföldizmus kérdéshöz*" ('Data on the Question of the Hungarian "Highland"'), *Magyar nyelv* LVII (1961), 213f. See now also U. Weinreich, "Western Traits in Transcarpathian Yiddish," in *For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday*, The Hague, 1964, pp. 245-264.

promises has been subordinated to the very strong assimilation to Hungarian.

1.2. The material of this paper is essentially based on the speech of three persons. Informant I was 80 years old at the time of the recording (1960); the others were about 60 (II) and 55 (III). It is hardly possible to find younger persons speaking the *Western* Yiddish dialect in the capital; even in the case of informants II and III we have to do rather with an *Erinnerungssprache* than with an *Alterssprache*, to employ the felicitous terms of E. Kranzmayer.<sup>5</sup> All three informants were born and brought up in Budapest; only II spent an extended period in the Soviet Union (mostly in non-Yiddish-speaking areas). His dialect proves the correctness of Kranzmayer's thesis concerning the speech of repatriates (*Rückwanderer*):<sup>6</sup> he used more archaic forms than his younger brother, III, who during II's absence belonged to the staff of the Burial Society in Budapest and was more exposed to the influence of modern Yiddish usage. Informant I came from a business family and was employed for a long time in the textile trade; he belongs today to the administration of the orthodox section of the Burial Society in Budapest. In World War I he served in the army of the Monarchy in Hungary and also in Serbia, where the language of service was German. He was born in Óbuda (Yiddish, German *Altöfen*) and his relations are still confined to the immediate neighborhood of Buda.

Informants II and III were brothers. Their family lived in the hinterland of the Hungarian capital, especially in the Northeastern part of Transdanubia. One of them (II) was an engineer, the other (III) a civil servant.

During the field work I was again convinced of the wrongness of the old theory according to which the most primitive subjects are most suitable for the purposes of linguistic investigation. My informants were well educated both professionally and generally. They have proved that valuable linguistic material is not dependent on primitive subjects.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> E. Kranzmayer, *Historische Lautgeographie des gesamtösterreichischen Dialektraumes*, Vienna-Cologne, 1956, pp. 4f. and *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. C. J. Hutterer, "Randbemerkungen zu E. Kranzmayers *Historischer Lautgeographie des gesamtösterreichischen Dialektraumes*," *Acta linguistica* (Budapest) IX (1959), 354ff. (hereinafter "Randbemerkungen").—I want here to express my thanks to my informants and to those who helped me in my work in connection with this paper, above all to G. Mellinger, Alexander Román-Eckstein, and Béla Elődi-Eckstein, as well as to Rev. Eugen Schück, Dr. Helene Benoschovsky and to Dr. Clara Magdics, who aided me in working out the English version of this paper and transcribed the music to the supplement (cf. pp. 144f.).

**1.3. METHODS OF COLLECTION.** The material was collected on the basis of a questionnaire containing about 500 questions. But in the case of Informant I, whose speech was considered as the basic source of the description, the number of questions amounted to several thousand. In constructing the questionnaire I took special care to have it reflect the relevant phenomena of phonemics, on the one hand, and of the distribution of the German, the Hebrew-Aramaic, the Slavic and other components on the other. Topically, the questions covered the most varied spheres of human life and ideas, such as family and kinship, religious life and rites, folkways, states of mind, professions and tools, parts of the body, house, home and courtyard, clothing, nourishment, entertainment, place names, countryside, vegetables, animals, housework, colors, seasons, names of the days and the months, numerical system, etc. All categories of Yiddish grammar were also represented in the questionnaire.

In asking the questions my main interest was in eliciting equivalents to the models assumed in advance. Where no such word was known to the informant, this negative fact was noted, as well as the substitute offered by the speaker. Since the informants are perfect speakers of Hungarian, the questions, as well as the predetermined words, were put in Hungarian to prevent a non-dialectal influence which might have been exerted on the subjects had they been addressed in Yiddish or German.<sup>8</sup>

In order to avoid a collection of single words only, connected speech was registered, too. These records ought to be treated separately, but a recitative text is available in the supplement to the present paper.

**1.4. JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN BUDAPEST.** The history of Jewish settlement in the present capital of Hungary embraces the development of three Jewish communities—Buda (Ofen), Óbuda (Altófen), and Pest—which were connected not only by the non-Jewish environment and by a common fate, but by their close ethnic affinity as well. The first documentation of the Jewish community in Buda dates back to the 13th century.<sup>9</sup> Like the oldest Ashkenazic communities in Hungary it may be traced back to immigrating German, French, Italian and other western ethnic groups in the first centuries of the Hungarian kingdom. These medieval Ashkenazic settle-

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Mitteldeutsche Studien* 24 (Halle, 1959), p. 59, and C. J. Hutterer, "A Dunántúli Középhegység németisége és a magyarországi német nyelvjáráskutatás problémái" ('The German Colonies in Northern Transdanubia and the Problems of German Dialect Research in Hungary'), *Magyar nyelv* LVI (1960), p. 230; idem (Xutterer), *Nemeckie govory Central'noj Vengrii*, Moscow, 1958, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Samuel Kohn, *Héber kútforrások és adatok Magyarország történetéhez* ('Hebrew Sources and Data Concerning the History of Hungary'), Budapest, 1881, p. 33.

ments must be considered as the southeasternmost extensions of the first period of the Ashkenazic eastward movement. The immigrants came mainly from the eastern, especially from the southeastern parts of the Empire, i.e. from Bohemia, Bavaria and, above all, Moravia, and retained their contacts with their native land.<sup>10</sup> The Jewish communities in Óbuda and Pest seem to have been only secondary colonies of the far stronger Jewry of medieval Buda. In the second half of the 15th century Buda became the political center of all Hungarian Jewry.

**1.41.** After the occupation of Buda by the Turks in 1526 and 1541 the continuity of Jewish life was endangered. Some families fled to western Hungary, chiefly to Pressburg, but the masses of Buda's Jewry remained. The Sultan later commanded all Jews of Central Hungary to be deported to the Ottoman heartland or to the Balkans. The motives of this resettlement were of a purely economic character. The Jewish colonists from Buda remained in the closest connection with their metropolis even in their new Balkan home. In 1538, a good many of them were to be found again in Buda.<sup>11</sup>

**1.42.** In the second half of the 16th century Buda once more became the center of Carpathian Jewry. The reconquest of Buda in 1686 by the troops of the Kaiser put the Jewish population in a sensitive position. But despite frightful afflictions, the settlers' vitality enabled them to survive. In the year 1689 the so-called *Wasserstadt* 'watertown'—the Jewish quarter of Buda at that time—was completely restored.

After Charles VI (1711–1740) in 1726 issued a decree which made the stay of the Jews in the Austrian hereditary provinces nearly impossible, the Buda community received a fresh wave of immigration, chiefly from Moravia. A new situation arose in 1746 after the local banishment of the Jews from Buda: the majority of the colonists settled down in neighboring Óbuda. As a result, the importance of the Óbuda community increased greatly. In 1783, under the rule of Joseph II (1780–1790), Buda was reoccupied by the settlers of the increased Óbuda community.

**1.43.** In Pest, on the eastern bank of the Danube, a new Jewish community arose after the Turkish occupation in 1786. Hand in hand with the economic and political growth of the town the community underwent a large-scale development and soon surpassed the community of Óbuda. At the time of the Hungarian reform period Pest became the breeding

<sup>10</sup> Kohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–48 etc.; G. Kuun, *Relationum Hungarorum historia antiquissima*, vol. II, Cluj, 1895, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Walter Friedensburg, *Nunciaturberichte*, vol. III, part I, Gotha, 1893, pp. 315ff. and 326.



ground of reform ideas. As a consequence of the quick extension of religious "neology" the western Yiddish dialect of the town was more and more repressed and came to be looked upon as a "jargon" which had to be replaced by more "literary" forms. This tendency was not isolated: about the turn of the century the German citizens of Buda and Pest (and to some extent of Óbuda, too) were linguistically magyarized as well.<sup>12</sup>

At its beginnings the Pest community was a rather humble branch of the Jewish group of Óbuda, which was supplemented (especially after 1746) by inhabitants from Buda. In the 19th century the development was reversed: Pest seized the leadership not only over several parts of the capital, but over the whole country. Linguistically, this state of affairs meant—after a brief interlude of German vernacular or colloquial speech—the complete assimilation to Hungarian. The old Yiddish dialect, with a nearly 700-year history in Buda, progressively came to be restricted to the orthodox sector of the community, and even there mainly to the family circle and to sermons in the synagogue.

**1.5. LAYOUT AND TRANSCRIPTION.** The order usually followed in synchronic phonological descriptions has here been changed in such a way that the phoneme inventory, instead of preceding the detailed analysis of single phonemes and their variants, follows it by way of summary. This method is suitable here because the dialect described exemplifies the manifold penetration and stratification of several dialect levels. The Western Yiddish basis of the Budapest dialect displays a dynamic relation to other, non-Western, types of Yiddish and to non-Yiddish phonemic components. The descriptive part is therefore concluded with a discussion of the features which endow the Budapest dialect with its peculiar character.

The transcription used here is as simple as possible. But with respect to subphonemic variants, which play an unusual role in so confused a dialect, I did not consider it advisable to reduce them automatically to phonemes and diaphones. Both for the sake of clarity and in the light of this dialect's specific relation (at least around the turn of our century) to the surrounding Austro-Bavarian dialects of German as well as to the earlier German Vienna-Budapest (likewise Austro-Bavarian) vernacular, I have used a transcription favored by some European dialectologists in descriptions of

<sup>12</sup> Cf. E. Einhorn in *Der Ungarische Israelit*, 1848; S. Büchler, *A zsidók története Budapesten* ('The History of Budapest Jewry'), Budapest, 1901, esp. pp. 438ff.; also C. J. Hutterer, "Hochsprache und Mundart bei den Deutschen in Ungarn," in R. Grosse and C. J. Hutterer, *Hochsprache und Mundart in Gebieten mit fremdsprachigen Bevölkerungsteilen*, Berlin, 1961, pp. 55ff.

German and Yiddish dialects. I hope that occasional alterations of this scheme will not encumber the appreciation of the present report.<sup>13</sup>

In treating consonants, syllabic sounds are marked by a circle below the line (e.g. *ŋ*), length by a dot (e.g. *t̄*, *ts̄*). The palatalization of a consonant is signified by the accent mark (e.g. *l'*). *φ* represents a bilabial spirant; *w* is, as a rule, labiodental (i.e. more precisely, [v]), but sometimes also bilabial [β]. *x* is in *all* positions a velar sound and never corresponds to the German *ich*-sound [ç]. *ɣ* is a variant of syllabic *ŋ* formed further back; I am inclined to name it *laryngal*.<sup>14</sup> The semi-lenes and semi-fortes occurring occasionally are represented by the corresponding small capitals in italics (e.g. *B*, *P*).

Among the vowel sounds normal shortness remains unmarked. Over-short vowels are represented by a semicircle above the letter (e.g. *ǎ*); length is indicated by a superior bar (e.g. *ā*); nasalization is signified by a tilde (e.g. *õ*). Open pronunciation is marked by an inferior hook (e.g. *ę*). *ɔ*, *ɔ̄* are strongly rounded, so-called "dark" *a*-sounds, inclining towards *ɒ*; *ɔ̄* and *ā* represent the short and long variants of the very open *e*-sound. The Hebrew-Aramaic prototypes of Yiddish words are transliterated according to the usage of the present series.<sup>15</sup> Phonetically transcribed forms always appear in italics without brackets; phonemic forms are cited, when necessary, within slanted lines.

## 2. THE PHONEMES

### 2.1. VOWELS

#### (a) Short Vowels

**2.1.1. /a/. The phoneme /a/ can be realized in three ways: (1) as an unrounded back short vowel *a*, which is identical with the short *a*-sound of literary German; (2) as an overshoot variant of the former sound: *ǎ*; and (3) as a rounded back short vowel, *ɔ̄* (which has become a separate phoneme in many Southern German dialects as well as in colloquial Hungarian).**

The alternation between *a* and *ǎ* in the dialect depends exclusively on the speed and length of the utterance. The allophone *ǎ*, rather common also in German dialects of the capital, is often preferred, cf. *mǎxŋ* ~ *maxŋ* 'to make', *wǎšŋ* ~ *wašŋ* 'to wash', *gəwǎnd* ~ *gəwand* 'garment, dress',

<sup>13</sup> Concerning the transcription in detail, cf. my "Randbemerkungen," pp. 336ff.

<sup>14</sup> The term 'laryngal' refers only to the back nature of the sound; it is the faucal passage which plays the essential role. Cf. "Randbemerkungen," p. 341.

<sup>15</sup> See *The Field of Yiddish*, vol. I, New York, 1954, pp. vif.

*dämpf* ~ *dampf* 'leaven' (cf. German *Dampf*), *hărt* ~ *hart* 'hard', *zăts* ~ *zats* 'set; stake; sentence', *ăxt* ~ *axt* 'eight', *ăpl* ~ *apl* 'apple', *k'ăkătsn* ~ *k'akatsn* 'to stutter, to stammer', *trăxtn* ~ *traxtn* 'to view', *mărst* ~ *marast* 'a muddy place or spot' (cf. German *Morast* 'marsh, slough, morass') only I; II, III: unknown), *zălts* ~ *zalts* 'salt'.

The rounded variant *ă* represents, according to its phonation, a link between /a/ and /o/ and appears particularly before *r*, nasals, and long consonants, cf. *gărb* 'sheaf', *ărm* '1. arm; 2. poor', *hămp* 'hemp', *wănd* 'wall', *năş* 'wet', *lăşn* ~ *lăsn* 'to let'. Consequently we can as a rule interpret it as a combinatory variant, but not in every case, because (1) in some words it is the only form of the phoneme, cf. *jă* (long form: *jă*) 'yes' (I and III also: *jăi*), *flăx* 'flax', *wălăx* 'Wallach(ian), Rumanian', etc.; (2) it can alternate not only with /a/, but also with /o/, cf. *k'ăp* ~ *k'op* ~ *k'ap* 'head', *tăp* ~ *top* 'pot', *găld* ~ *gold* 'gold'; (3) it can be phonematically opposed to /a/ and /o/, cf. *hălts* (II, III; I: *hăls*) 'neck' and *hălts* (I) ~ *hqlts* (II, III) 'wood', *wărt* ~ *wăt* 'wait!' and *wărt* ~ *wort* 'word', and the like.

At the same time, as a result of Austro-Bavarian German influence, *ă* can alternate with *o* as allophones of the same phoneme, cf. *ărm* 'arm' beside *ormlqx* 'armpit' (cf. German *Armloch*).

Finally we have to note the fact that in the speech of younger people, who are no longer active Yiddish speakers, this *ă*—under Hungarian influence<sup>16</sup>—has become a phoneme, as in the names *şwărts* 'Schwarz', *şărf* 'Scharf', *hărtmăn* 'Hartmann' compared to *şwărts*, *şărf*, *hărtmăn* ~ *hărtmō* in the speech of active speakers. The same situation is found in words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin: *şămēs* 'synagogue servant', *gănef* 'thief'. Active speakers say *şaməs* and *ganəf* ~ *ganəv*. In the speech of young people, this *a* appears only as a stylistic variant.

**2.112.** /o/. This phoneme possesses two realizations: *o* and *o*. In his historical description of the Pinsk dialect, Beranek already noted that *o* (like *e* and *u*) represents a short, more or less open sound, which hence could, if necessary, also be written more precisely as *o* (like *e* and *u*).<sup>17</sup> Here, too, speed and length play an important role: at a greater speed the sound becomes shorter and opener, while at a slower speed it is longer and closer, cf. *ofn* 'open', *wolf* 'wolf', *xogə* 'Christian holiday'.

Short *o* frequently appears as *ă*,<sup>18</sup> cf. *găld* ~ *gald* 'gold', *săd* ~ *sad*

'secret', *roş* ~ *răş* 'head, chief'. Above all in position before /x/ and /r/ the sound tends towards *o* or *ă* as combinatory variants, cf. *dox* 'yet, however, nevertheless', *jox* (I) ~ *joxt* (II, III) 'yoke', *lox* 'hole', *k'ox* 'kitchen', *toxtər* 'daughter', *bəxər* 'young man', *forṃ* 'form', *doṛf* 'village', *ormlqx* 'armpit' (cf. German *Armloch*) beside *ărm* 'arm', *zărg* 'care', *şărvəx* 'stork', *xăxmə* ~ *xəxmə* 'cleverness, prudence'.

Young people, who are not active speakers of Yiddish, use either *ă* or close *o* in the Yiddish remnants of their speech, for the open variant *o* is strange to their magyarized basis of articulation; thus *răşəkōl* 'head of Jewish community', *jăntev* ~ (rarely) *jontev* 'Jewish holiday', *hohmă* 'cleverness, prudence', *wolf* (proper name), as against *roşək'ol*, *xăxmə* ~ *xəxmə*, *jontəv* ~ *jontaf* ~ *jantaf* ~ *jantəv* and *wolf* ~ *wolv* in the speech of active speakers.

Diphthongal variants may appear before /r/; I found them only in informant I as a result of Austro-Bavarian influence, cf. *fə* ~ *fər* 'before'.

**2.113.** /e/. This phoneme may be realized like /o/, in two ways: either as close *e* or open *e*. The prevalent form is doubtless *e*, cf. *lefl* 'spoon, ladle', *red* 'speech', *bət* 'bed', *zək* 'sacks, bags', *blethx* 'leaves (dim.)', *ştekp* '1. stick; 2. to stick', *nēs* 'miracle'; *eməs* '1. truth; 2. right, correct', *xewrə* 'society, company'. The close form occurs as a short sound most rarely, cf. *k'empl* (I) ~ *k'eml* (III) 'comb (dim.)', *heməT* (I) ~ *heməd* (I) ~ *hempt* (II) ~ *heməd* (II, III) 'shirt', *hentişvəx* 'gloves', *şenkł* 'thigh, shank', *deykp* 'to think', *ebəs* ~ *epəs* (beside *ebēs*) 'something, any, some, somewhat', *wək* 'away', *tselt* 'tent', but more frequently as a long vowel, cf. *smetn* (I) ~ *smēta* (III) 'cream', *zēmPəft* (I) ~ *zēmPəft* (II) 'mustard' (cf. 2.123).

An overshort variant may occasionally occur, especially before long consonants, cf. *gręşə* 'greater, bigger', *rędn* (II, III) ~ *rędn* (I) 'to speak'.

In position before /r/ we regularly find the open sound, cf. *herpst* 'autumn', *ferd* (I, II, III) ~ *ferd* (I) 'horse', *şwern* 'to swear'. This *e* often alternates with *ă* or *ă*, in the speech of I also with *ə*: *şmerts* (I) ~ *şmărts* (I, II, III) 'pain, ache' and *şmertsn* (I) 'to hurt, ache', *fărzax* (I) ~ *fărşax* (I) ~ *fărşăx* (I) ~ *fərzax* (II, III) 'peach', *fătig* (I) ~ *fătəg* (II, III) ~ *fătig* (I) 'ready', furthermore (I) *şwər* ~ *şwēr* 'heavy, difficult' (II, III: *şwēr*), *hər* ~ *her* 'lord, master' (II, III: *hēr*).

A similar situation is found in position before /x/: *rext* (I) ~ *răxt* (II, III) 'right', *şlăxt* 'bad, ill', *zextsəg* (II, III) ~ *zăxtsəg* (II, III) ~ *zăxtsig* (I) ~ *zăxtsłx* (I) 'sixty', *bręxn* ~ *brăxn* 'to break', *dęxt* ~ *dăxt* 'thick, dense'. The facultative variant *e* is doubtless due to the influence of Austro-Bavarian, cf. *ştăxn* (I, II, III) ~ *şte<sup>1</sup>xn* (I) 'to prick, sting, pierce'.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gy. Laziczus, *Bevezetés a fonológiába* ('Introduction to Phonology'), Budapest 1932, pp. 36f.

<sup>17</sup> F. J. Beranek, *Das Pinsker Jiddisch und seine Stellung im gesamtjiddischen Sprachraum*, Berlin, 1958, pp. 6f.: §3, 1a.

<sup>18</sup> See 2.111 above.



In other positions the alternation  $e \sim \bar{a}$  occurs only in the word  $w\bar{e}š$  (I, II, III)  $\sim w\bar{a}š$  (I) 'wash, washing, linen, underclothing'.

The so-called *e*-confusion, well known in many German dialects,<sup>19</sup> appears in Budapest Yiddish to such an extent that we may speak in most cases only of facultative or occasional variants. Of course, the *open* form of realization is constantly increasing. The younger generation uses short  $e$  or long  $\bar{e}$  as exclusive forms according to the rules of literary and colloquial Hungarian:  $g\bar{e}lb$ ,  $b\bar{e}rg$  (proper names),  $pl\bar{e}$  'sheet metal'.<sup>20</sup> Active speakers say  $g\bar{e}lb \sim g\bar{e}l$  'yellow',  $bl\bar{e}x \sim bl\bar{a}x$  'sheet metal',  $b\bar{a}rg$  'mountain'.

Though quite rarely,  $\bar{o}$  occurs as a consequence of literary German influence in some recent loanwords, cf.  $t'öP\bar{o}$  (I) 'potter'.

Concerning the alternation of  $e$  and  $\bar{a} \sim v$  in unstressed position, see 3.3

**2.114.** /ü i u/. The close sounds /ü/ and /i/ are of distinctive value in the dialect; open  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{i}$  are rare and always facultative variants like overshort  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$ . As a result of the mix-up of several phonemic levels in Budapest Yiddish, the  $\bar{i}$  (of Central Yiddish origin) may stand in many words for western Yiddish /ü/; we can observe the same with respect to literary and dialectal German  $u$  penetrating into Yiddish. In both types of penetration we have to do with so-called "tip words" (the *Spitzenwörter* of Frings)<sup>21</sup> coming from German and from Yiddish circles of Eastern or Northeastern Hungary.

/ü/:  $p\bar{u}t\bar{a}r$  'butter',  $f\bar{u}ks$  'fox',  $f\bar{r}üm$  'pious, religious',  $k\bar{r}ümp$  '1. crooked, curved, bent; 2. lame',  $f\bar{u}n$  'from',  $z\bar{u}n$  'sun',  $n\bar{u}s$  'nut',  $r\bar{u}s$  'Ruth',  $p'üsh\bar{a}$  'flint',  $b\bar{u}nd\bar{a}$  'furs',  $s\bar{u}k\bar{a}$  (I)  $\sim s\bar{u}k\bar{a}$  (II, III) 'tabernacle'.

$\bar{u}$ :  $z\bar{u}p$  'soup',  $m\bar{a}š\bar{u}g\bar{e}$  (I)  $\sim m\bar{a}š\bar{u}g\bar{a}$  (I)  $\sim m\bar{a}š\bar{u}g\bar{a}$  (II, III) 'mad, crazy'.

$\bar{u}$  may alternate with  $\bar{u}$  mostly as a facultative variant, but standing in a final position long  $\bar{u}$  occurs as a combinatory variant:  $k'\bar{u}$  'cow',  $r\bar{u}$  'calm, quiet',  $ts\bar{u} \sim ts\bar{u}$  'to, too',  $br\bar{u}d\bar{a}r$  (I)  $\sim br\bar{u}d\bar{a}r$  (II, III) 'brother',  $b\bar{a}s\bar{u}lb$  (I)  $\sim ps\bar{u}lb$  (I, II, III) 'virgin'.

/i/:  $lip$  'lip',  $rip$  'rib',  $grif$  '1. grip, grasp, hold; 2. handle',  $simx\bar{a}$  '1. joy, pleasure, delight; 2. festival, feast',  $šik\bar{a}r$  (I)  $\sim šik\bar{a}r$  (II, III) 'drunk'.

$\bar{i}$ :  $g\bar{i}f\bar{l}$  'top, summit',  $f\bar{l}ig$  'fly',  $ts\bar{a}riš\bar{n}$  (I)  $\sim ts\bar{a}riš\bar{n}$  (II) 'torn',  $štrik$  (I, II, III)  $\sim štrik$  (I) '1. cord, rope, line; 2. good-for-nothing, young rogue',  $br\bar{i}s$  (I)  $\sim br\bar{i}s$  (II, III) 'circumcision'. Variations with  $\bar{i}$ :  $r\bar{i}xtig \sim r\bar{i}xtig$ ,  $br\bar{i}s$  (I)  $\sim br\bar{i}s$  (II, III) 'circumcision'. Variations with  $\bar{i}$ :  $r\bar{i}xtig \sim r\bar{i}xtig$ ,  $br\bar{i}s$  (I)  $\sim br\bar{i}s$  (II, III) 'circumcision'. Variations with  $\bar{i}$ :  $r\bar{i}xtig \sim r\bar{i}xtig$ ,  $br\bar{i}s$  (I)  $\sim br\bar{i}s$  (II, III) 'circumcision'.

$\bar{i} \sim \bar{i} \sim \bar{i}$ :  $k'\bar{i}s$  (I)  $\sim k'\bar{i}s$  (II, III) 'kiss',  $d\bar{u}ts\bar{n}t$  (I)  $\sim t'\bar{u}ts\bar{n}t$  (II, III) 'dozen',  $k'\bar{u}gl$  (I)  $\sim k'\bar{u}gl$  (II)  $\sim k'\bar{u}gl$  (I)  $\sim k'\bar{u}gl$  (II) 'bullet, ball; a sort of pastry',  $\bar{u}nt\bar{n}$  (I, II, III)  $\sim \bar{u}nt\bar{n}$  (II, III) 'beneath',  $ts\bar{u}g$  (I)  $\sim ts\bar{u}g$  (II, III) 'tongue',  $šis\bar{l} \sim šüs\bar{l}$  'dish',  $širts\bar{n} \sim šürts\bar{n}$  'apron' (II, III) unknown,  $štik \sim štik$  'piece' (I; II and III say only  $štik \sim štik$ ),  $br\bar{u}k$  (I)  $\sim brik$  (II, III) 'bridge',  $bük\bar{l}$  (I)  $\sim p'ük\bar{l}$  (II, III)  $\sim bik\bar{l}$  (I) 'hump, back'.

$u$  is the result of the surrounding German influence, cf.  $šut\bar{n}$  'mare',  $t\bar{u}st\bar{n}$  'tumbler cup',  $šmuk \sim šmük$  'jewels',  $un(d) \sim ün(d)$  'and',  $šust\bar{a}r$  (I)  $\sim šust\bar{a}r$  (I, II, III) 'shoemaker'.

In position before /r/ we see the variants  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{e}$ , as the case may be, cf.  $t'örm$  (I)  $\sim t'ürm$  (II, III) 'tower',  $šerm$  (I)  $\sim širm$  (II, III) 'screen, umbrella, parasol, peak'.

Before /x/ we often find the combinatory variants  $\bar{u} \sim \bar{u} \bar{a}$ , cf.  $d\bar{u}v\bar{x}n\bar{a}n$  'to perform the priestly benediction',  $z\bar{u}v\bar{x} \sim z\bar{u}v\bar{x}$  'to seek',  $t\bar{u}v\bar{x}$  '1. cloth; 2. kerchief, shawl, necktie',  $š\bar{u}v\bar{x}$  (I) 'shoe' (II, III:  $š\bar{u}$ , III also  $š\bar{i}$ !). An opposite example is the word  $f\bar{r}üxt$  'corn, grain'.

Younger people in their Yiddish usage know only  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{i}$  (or  $u$ , as the case may be) under Hungarian or High German influence, cf.  $m\bar{u}nk\bar{a}ts$  or  $m\bar{u}nk\bar{a}ts$  'Munkatsch (place name)' (I:  $m\bar{u}nk\bar{a}ts$ , SE Yiddish  $m\bar{u}nk\bar{a}ts$ ),  $f\bar{u}ks$  (family name),  $k\bar{u}gli \sim k\bar{u}gli$  'bullet, ball; a sort of pastry',  $d\bar{u}h\bar{e}nol$  'he performs the priestly benediction'.

#### (b) Long Vowels<sup>22</sup>

**2.115.** /ā/. By far the most prevalent form of realization is long unrounded  $\bar{a}$ , cf.  $ts\bar{w}\bar{a}$  'two',  $z\bar{a}f$  'soap',  $l\bar{a}m$  'loam',  $w\bar{a}x$  'soft, tender, weak',  $w\bar{a}d$  (III) 'pasture',  $štrām\bar{l}$  'Sabbath hat',  $\bar{a}g$  'eye',  $l\bar{a}kn\bar{a}n$  (I)  $\sim l\bar{a}gn\bar{a}n$  (II)  $\sim l\bar{a}k\bar{a}n\bar{a}n$  (II, III) 'to deny, disavow',  $r\bar{a}m$  'cream',  $m\bar{a}t$  'Mád (place name)',  $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}$  'girl',  $š\bar{a}l\bar{a}$  'question to the rabbi',  $k\bar{a}s\bar{a}f$  'script'.

As a result of the confusion of western and eastern Yiddish levels,  $\bar{a}$  can alternate with  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ , or  $\bar{e}$ , cf.  $\bar{e}id\bar{a}m$  (I)  $\sim \bar{e}id\bar{a}m$  (I)  $\sim \bar{a}d\bar{a}m$  (I, II, III)  $\sim \bar{a}d\bar{n}$  (II, III) 'son-in-law',  $k\bar{le}id$  (I)  $\sim k\bar{l}\bar{a}d$  (I, II, III) 'clothes, dress',  $d\bar{a}r\bar{h}eim \sim d\bar{a}rh\bar{a}m$  'at home',  $w\bar{a}js$  (I)  $\sim w\bar{a}z$  (I, II, III) 'I know, he knows',  $f\bar{l}\bar{a}š$  (I, II, III)  $\sim f\bar{l}\bar{a}š$  (II, III) 'flesh, meat',  $šr\bar{a}ib\bar{n}$  (I)  $\sim šr\bar{a}b\bar{n}$  (I)  $\sim šr\bar{e}ib\bar{n}$  (II, III) 'to write',  $w\bar{e}ib$  (I, II, III)  $\sim w\bar{e}iB$  (I)  $\sim w\bar{a}b$  (I, II, III) 'wife',  $ts\bar{w}\bar{a}g \sim ts\bar{w}eig$  'branch, twig',  $\bar{e}id\bar{a}n$  (I)  $\sim \bar{a}r\bar{n}$  (II, III) 'Aaron'.

We find the same phenomenon in the relation of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{a}u$  and of  $\bar{a}u$  to  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{a}(\bar{o})$  in  $b\bar{a}m$  (I, II, III)  $\sim b\bar{a}um$  (I)  $\sim b\bar{a}um$  (I) 'tree',  $gl\bar{a}b\bar{n}$  (II, III)  $\sim gl\bar{a}ub\bar{n}$  (I) 'to believe',  $r\bar{a}x$  (I, II, III)  $\sim r\bar{o}x$  (I)  $\sim r\bar{a}v\bar{x}$  (I) 'smoke',  $r\bar{a}x\bar{a}n$  (II, III)  $\sim r\bar{a}j\bar{x}n$  (II, III)  $\sim r\bar{a}ux\bar{a}n$  (I) 'to smoke'.

<sup>19</sup> I do not want to go into the problem of quantity: in general, it is of phonemic character; cf. /bin/ 'am' but /bīn/ 'bee'.

<sup>19</sup> E. Kranzmayer, *Historische Lautgeographie* . . . , pp. 25ff.

<sup>20</sup> In Hungarian, the same form occurs as a loanword, /plē/.

<sup>21</sup> This term was used by Frings in connection with the Rhenish dialects, where it was intended to point to the fact that the different phonetic phenomena penetrate certain words in a differential way, depending on their geography.

A facultative variant of *ā* is *ǣ*, cf. *lāfñ* (II, III) ~ *lǣfñ* (I) 'to run'; but the rounded vowel is fixed in *wālāx* 'Wallach, Rumanian'.

A single case is presented by *gāx* (I) ~ *gīvx* (II, III) 'sudden(ly)', exemplifying the combination of Western and Central Yiddish.

**2.122.** /ō/. Like the short phoneme /o/, the long /ō/ exhibits two forms of realization: close *ō* and open *ō̄*. The vacillation we saw in the case of short /o/ seems here to yield *ō̄* as the usual form in the majority of etymologically clear roots. This is the result of the Austro-Bavarian influence. Thus the close *ō* represents a facultative, in fact an affective variant. Cf. *gōpl* 'fork', *tōg* 'day', *nōdl* 'needle', *šlōgp* 'to beat, strike', *t'ōl* 'valley', *gādōxas* 'stomach ache', *bōwl* 'Babylon'; furthermore, *nōpl* (I) ~ *nōpl̄* (II, III) 'navel', *blōzn* ~ *blōzn̄* 'to blow, sound', *nōmən* ~ *nōmən̄* 'name', *brōxə* (I) ~ *brōxə̄* (II, III) 'blessing, benediction', *drōšə* (I) ~ *drōšə̄* (II, III) 'sermon', *lōšñ* (I) ~ *lōšñ̄* (II, III) 'language', *k'ōšər* (I) ~ *k'ōšər̄* (II, III) 'permitted according to the Law'; also *ōtəm* 'breath', *ōgrōzl* 'gooseberry', *mōnwt* 'month', *šōf* 'sheep', *mōln* '1. to grind; 2. to paint', *rōf* 'rabbi', *gōlas* 'exile', *nəšōmə* 'soul', *nōsn* (I) ~ *nōsə̄* (II, III) 'Nathan', *dōwəd* (I) ~ *dōwəd̄* (II, III) 'David'.

Our assertion concerning the role of Austro-Bavarian influence can be confirmed by the fact that the open variant only sporadically occurs in the Hebrew-Aramaic component, cf. the examples above.

In position before /r/, informant I also showed diphthongal forms, cf. *wōr* (I, II, III) ~ *wōvr̄* (I) 'I/he was', *gōrtñ* (I, II, III) ~ *gōrtñ̄* (II, III) ~ *gōvr̄tñ* (I) 'garden', *bōrt* (I, II, III) ~ *bōvr̄t* (I) 'beard', *ōrwašl* (II, III) ~ *ōvr̄wašl* (I) 'ear'.

A fluctuation between *ō* ~ *ō̄*, *āi*, *āu*, *au* and *ū* is indicated in *šlōfñ* (I) ~ *šlāfñ* (II, III) 'to sleep', *hōs* (I) ~ *hāiz* (II, III) 'hare', *lōz* (II, III) ~ *lāiz* (I) 'ticket', *rōvr̄* (I) ~ *rājr̄* (II, III) 'reed, tube, pipe', *fōgl* (II, III) ~ *fāugl* (I) 'bird' (but I also *fōgl̄nest* 'bird's nest!'), *tauxp̄* ~ *tōxp̄* 'to dip, duck', *šōwl* (I) ~ *šōwl̄* (II, III) 'shovel', *štaub* (I, II, III) ~ *štōb* (I) ~ *štōb̄* (II, III) ~ *štōb̄* (I) 'dust', *blau* (I, II, III) ~ *blō* (I) ~ *blō̄* (I) ~ *blū* (I) 'blue'.

The literary and colloquial Hungarian of the capital knows only close *ō*, which is used in young people's Yiddish, cf. *bēhōwəd* (< *baxōwəd* ~ *baxōwəd̄*) 'honorable', *hōhem* (< *xōxəm* [I] ~ *xōxəm* [II, III]) 'a sage', *blōzol* (< *blōzn̄* ~ *blōzn̄̄*) 'he blows (the shophar)'.

**2.123.** /ē/. The realizations of the long phoneme /ē/ run parallel with those of the short /e/-sound: accordingly we have close *ē* alongside open *ē̄* or very open *ē̄̄*. The confusion of the *e*-sounds mentioned above<sup>23</sup> has left virtually no trace of the distinction which Budapest Yiddish had in earlier times: the variants are mostly facultative or occasional like those of long

/ō/.<sup>24</sup> The open sound seems to prevail, cf. *ēzl* 'ass', *glēzl* 'glass', *wēgp* 'because of, on account of, for the sake of, for', *mēgp* 'stomachs', *trēn* 'lean' (I: only plural *trēnan*), *dērvx* 'way' (abstr.), *tsēlam* 'cross, crucifix', *šōdar* 'Passover feast'; *k'ēt* ~ *k'ēt̄* 'chain', *wēgp* ~ *wēgp̄* 'wagons', *bētn* (I) ~ *bētn̄* (II, III) 'to pray, beg', *frēgp* (I) ~ *frēgp̄* (I, II, III) 'to ask', *xēdar* (I) ~ *xēdar̄* (II, III) 'Jewish elementary school', *k'ēwər* (I) ~ *k'ēwər̄* (II, III) 'grave', *xēsəd* (I) ~ *xēsəd̄* (II, III) 'grace', *pēsax* (I) ~ *pēsax̄* (II, III) 'Passover', as against *jēgər* 'hunter', *mēgp̄* 'to be permitted', *vēln* 'to choose', *šēman* *zvix* 'to feel ashamed', *ēlānd* 'misery', *ētsə(s)* 'advice, counsel (pl.)'.

Before /r/ I often found the diphthongal variants *ēv* ~ *ēə* ~ *ēə̄*, rarely also *ā* in the speech of informant I, cf. *rēvr̄* (I) ~ *rēvr̄̄* (II, III) 'tube', *lēər* (I) ~ *lēər̄* (II, III) 'empty', *šwēər* (I) ~ *šwēər̄* (II, III) 'heavy, difficult', *šwēr̄* (II, III) ~ *šwēər̄* (I) 'father-in-law', *šēər̄* (I) ~ *šēər̄̄* (II, III) ~ *šār̄* (I) 'scissors', *miljōnēr̄* ~ *miljōnār̄* 'millionaire'.

The vacillation between *ē/e* and *ai/ei* in *šnē* (II, III) ~ *šnai* (I) 'snow', *flē* (I) ~ *flāi* (I, II, III) 'fleas', *šēn* (I, II, III) ~ *šēn̄* (II, III) ~ *šēin* (I) 'pretty, beautiful' and *mēlpx* (I, II, III) ~ *mēilpx* (I) 'king' (also in cards) is due to Central Yiddish influence. On the alternation *ē* ~ *e*, cf. **2.113**.

Literary German influence is indicated by sporadic *ō̄*, cf. *lōwē* (II, III) 'lion' (I: *lēf*, III knows *lēw* in addition to *lōwē*), *trōdlərmarkt* (I) 'rag-fair, old-clothes market'.

Literary and colloquial Hungarian knows only long *ē* (the long open variant occurs only in dialects). It is the sound used by young people, as in *ēder*, *pēsāh*, *hēder*.

**2.124.** /ū ī ū/. Long /ū/ and /ī/ are fullfledged phonemes in our dialect; cf. *rūfñ* 'to call', *hūt* 'hat', *fūs* 'foot', *rūbn̄* (I) ~ *rūbn̄̄* (II, III) 'beet, carrot, turnip', *p'ūrəm* (I) ~ *pūrəm̄* (II, III) 'Purim', *šmūl* (I) ~ *šmūl̄* (II, III) 'Samuel', *jərūšə* 'heritage', *būšə* 'shame, disgrace', as against *zībñ* 'seven', *lūl* 'boot', *ligp̄* 'to lie', *jīd* 'Jew', *tīf* 'deep', *k'ī* 'cows', *mī* 'trouble, pains', *grīn* 'green', *tswī* (man's name), *mētsī·ə* ~ *mētsī·ə̄* 'bargain, occasional purchase', *jvšīwv* 'advanced religious school or rabbinical academy', *dīnam* 'religious laws'.

In position before /r/, informant I also used diphthongal variants: *šnūr* (I, II, III) ~ *šnūr̄* (I) 'daughter-in-law' (III: also *šnīr̄*), *kriūmpīrn̄* (II, III) ~ *kriūmpīrn̄̄* (I) 'potatoes', *t'īr* (II, III) ~ *t'īər* (I) '1. door; 2. animal'.

/x/ may induce a diphthongal variation, cf. *bīvx* 'book', *līvxt* '1. light; 2. candle', *krīvxp̄* ~ *krīəxp̄* 'to creep, crawl', *taxrīvpxəm* 'shrouds', *rīvxp̄* 'demon'. More complicated variations are to be seen in *zīxər* ~ *zēxər* ~

<sup>23</sup> Cf. f.n. 19.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. 2.122.



*zāxər* 'sure' and *nīxtərŋ* (I, II, III) ~ *nüxtərŋ* (I) 'sober'. It may be observed that /ū/ before /x/ becomes short, cf. 2.114.

The immigration of Central Yiddish speakers, above all from Carpathian Russia, since the last century is responsible for the confusion of the several phonemic levels, cf. *štüb* and *štib* 'room', *kūgl* (II) ~ *kīgl* (III) (beside *k'ügl* [I], *kūgl* [I]) 'bullet, ball; a sort of pastry', *jəšijə* 'Joshua'. Open *i* is typically Central Yiddish correspondence to etymological *i*, *ū*, *uo*, *üe*.<sup>25</sup>

Concerning the alternations *ū* ~ *ü* and *i* ~ *i*, cf. 2.114.

Long *ū* is, like short *u*, an imported phenomenon and appears only as a facultative variant or in words absolutely strange to the Budapest dialect, cf. *šül(ə)* (I) 'non-Jewish school' (but *šül* 'synagogue'; II, III do not distinguish the words and say *šül* in both cases), *lauzbüb* 'a naughty boy', *dāi* (I, II, III) ~ *dqi* (II, III) 'here', *gōdl* ~ *gūd* (I) 'a respected man, an expert in the Talmud' (II, III: unknown).<sup>26</sup>

In the Yiddish of younger people only *ū* ~ *ü*, *i* ~ *i* and *ū* ~ *u* can be found as in Hungarian, *i* and the diphthongs *iv*, *ūv* do not occur, cf. *pürim*, *purim*, *grün* (family name), *ješivá*, *ziher* 'sure', *tāhrihem*, *kügli* ~ *kigh*, *kügli*, *šül* 'synagogue'.

#### (c) Diphthongs

2.131. /äu āi qi/. The original phonemic distribution of *äu* on the one hand and *āi* ~ *qi* on the other, found to exist in many districts of the Western Yiddish area,<sup>27</sup> shows some traces in the Budapest dialect. But they appear to converge in a phoneme /āi/, representing a mean value between the extremes *äu* and *qi*. At the same time, however, we have to stress the fact that all these forms are absolutely equivalent renditions of the prototype, cf. *p'äuln* 'Poland', *äupst* 'fruit', *wäunən* 'to dwell', *äubn* 'above', *äuvn* (I) ~ *äuvn* (I) ~ *äufn* (II, III) 'oven, stove' (also the Yiddish name of Buda); *zäul* (II, III) ~ *zäil* (I) 'sole', *häuf* (I) ~ *hāif* (II, III) 'yard', *poln* 'Polish', *štrāi* 'straw', *tāit* 'dead', *gāi* 'gentile', *šāifər* 'ritual horn', *šlōm* 'Salomon', *māišə* 'Moses', *rāit* (I, II, III) ~ *reit* (II, III) 'red', *šāin* ~ *ai* 'already', *k'āit* (II, III) ~ *k'qit* (I) 'dirt, mud', *brāigəs* (I) ~ *broigəs* (II, III) 'angry', *mājrə* (II, III) ~ *mōjrə* (I) 'fear, dread, fright', *jōinasən* ~ *jānasən* 'Jonathan', *nōit* 'need', *štoisn* 'to push, thrust', *mənōjrə* 'menorah'. The feature called *umlaut* by German scholars seems to be the source of the

<sup>25</sup> Cf. U. Weinreich's classification in "A Retrograde Sound Shift in the Guise of Survival," in *Miscelánea homenaje a André Martinet*, La Laguna, 1958, vol. II, pp. 221 ff. also F. J. Beranek, "Jiddisch," in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, ed. W. Stamm, Berlin—Bielefeld—Munich, 2nd ed., 1957, coll. 1975ff.

<sup>26</sup> The word is considered as typical Eastern Yiddish on Hungarian territory, while other, more indigenous expressions are normally used.

<sup>27</sup> Beranek, "Jiddisch," coll. 1975ff.

forms *hāinik* (I) ~ *hēnig* (II, III) 'honey' and *läugp* (I) ~ *lēgp* (II, III) 'lies, untruths'. The phonetically neighboring *āi* and *ai* alternate in *grāis* ~ *graj*, in the usage of subject II and III also *grāis* ~ *grāis* 'great, big'. As in the alternations *āi* ~ *ō/ō*, *āi* ~ *qi* ~ *ū*, *äu* ~ *ō*, cf. 2.122.

The variations of *äugp* (I, II) with *āgp* (II) 'eyes' is probably due to grammatical factors. An instructive case of the free distribution mentioned above is seen in the alternations *zäugp* 'to suck', *zōikt* 'she sucks' and *zōigərŋ* 'wet-nurse'. The "triphthong" *āiv* ~ *āiə* ~ *āi*, resp. *qiv* is a complementary variant in the position before *x* or, rarely, *r*: *hāivx* 'high', *rāivx* '1. smell, odor; 2. smoke', *šāivxət* (I, II, III) ~ *šāixət* (II, III) '(kosher) butcher', *k'āivx* (I, II, III) ~ *k'qivx* (I) 'strength, power', *ājərvx* 'a wandering beggar', *jājəraš* ~ *jōjəraš* 'heir'. But *āi* always appears before *x* in *āivər* 'merchant, shopkeeper'.

The magyarized young people lack *äu* and instead of *āi* ~ *qi* they produce *aj* or *oj*, cf. *ezāi* (< *azāi* ~ *azqi*) 'so', *gāj* ~ *goj* (< *gāi*), *gājte* ~ *gojte* (< *gāite*) 'gentile woman', *šājfer* (< *šāifər*), *brājges*, *mājre* ~ *mājre* (!). The Yiddish triphthongs are likewise replaced by *aj* in *šājhet*, *ājrah*, *kājāh* (in the expression *škājāh* < *škāivx* ~ *škqivx* 'thanks, thank you').

2.132. /ej āi ai/. Among these diphthongs, *ej* is generally regarded as a "better" form, though the speakers often hesitate between *ej* and the *ai* which came with Central Yiddish immigrants into the original Budapest dialect. We have only *ej* in *frejd* 'joy, gladness, delight', *beigl* 'a pastry shaped in the form of a roll', *leit* 'people', *heizər* 'houses', *peits* 'whip', *teit* 'deal, part', *t'eis* 'Tisza River' (cf. German *Theiss*), *frejnd* 'relative', *hej* 'pane', *fejgl* 'birds', *deingəs* ~ *deingəs* 'cares' (only I; II, III: unknown). In final position the diphthong regularly sounds as *āi*, cf. *hāi* 'hay', *nāi* 'new', *haləwāi* (I) ~ *aləwāi* (II, III) 'would that . . .', *drāi* 'three', *āi* 'egg', but in some cases this variant occurs in medial position as well, cf. *šnāit* 'it snows'. The short diphthong *ai* is more frequent as a variant of *ej*, or, on the other hand, as an etymologically separate vowel in some words: e.g. *reix* 'rich', *ōnlajn* 'chair arm or back', *ōgəlaht* 'reclining', *frai* 'free', *šnai* (I) 'snow' (II, III: *šnē*), *maizələ* (II, III) ~ *meizələ* (I) 'little mouse', *mājərv* 'evening prayer', *bleibn* (I) ~ *blajbn* (II, III) 'to remain', *tseit* (I) ~ *tsajt* (II, III) 'time', *šreit* ~ *šrait* 'he cries', *xrain* ~ *xrejn* 'horse radish', *šrajbn* (I) ~ *šreibn* (II, III) 'to write' (I: also *šrābn*!). A noteworthy alternation can be discerned in *zejftsŋ* (I) and *zūfətsŋ* (II, III) 'to sigh'.

Total confusion pervades the comparative forms *klēnər* (I) ~ *kleñər* (I, II, III) ~ *klānər* (II, III) ~ *klejnər* (I) 'smaller'. On the alternations *ej* ~ *ē/ē*, *ai* ~ *au*, *ej/ai* ~ *ā*, see 2.123, 2.133, 2.121.

In position before /r/ and /x/ we find triphthongal variants, *ejə* ~ *ejv* ~

*āiə* ~ *āiv*, etc.; cf. *t'ejər* 'dear', *fējər* (I) ~ *fājər* (II, III) 'fire', *p'ejər* ~ *p'ejərtə* 'peasant's wife', *hejər* (I) ~ *hājər* (II, III) 'this year', *āiə* (I) ~ *āiv* (II, III) 'eggs', similarly *glejv* '1. like, alike; 2. soon', *lejxt* (I) ~ *lejv* (II, III) 'easy, light'. A German influence may be proved in *filaext* (I) 'perhaps'; the dialectal word is *efšər*. Alternation with *āiə* is seen in *t'ajər* (I) ~ *tājər* (I, II, III) 'the Law'. Without being contextually determined, the triphthong occurs in other positions, too, e.g. in *lājən* 'to lend', *lājənən* ~ *lajənən* 'to read (the Law)', *xājəs* 'life', *ləwājə* 'burial, funeral'. The Ctl. Yiddish form *pejəs* (I) 'earlocks' also belongs here, although informants II and III do not use a "glide" in this word: *pē'əs*. A similar case is the name 'Aaron', cf. **2.121**.

The Yiddish of young people shows the state prevailing in Hungarian, viz. the lack of all these diphthongs and triphthongs: *nājmān* ~ *nejmān* Neumann (family name), *bejgli* (< *beigl*), *frājd* Freud, *rejh* Reich (family names), *tājre* 'the Law', *mājrev*, *pājəs*.

**2.133.** /au/. The phoneme at present is rendered as *au*, cf. *auf* 'upon', *ərauf* 'up', *faul* 'lazy', *zaubər* 'clean', *haus* 'house', *maus* 'mouse', *maul* 'mouth', *baux* 'belly', *raubm* (I) 'to rob' (II, III know only *gazlən* ~ *gazlənən*). In the position before (old) /r/ and in some similar cases a triphthongal variant appears, as in *p'ayə* (I) ~ *p'ayər* (II, III) 'peasant', *mayər* 'wall', *zayər* 'sour' and *bayən* 'to build'.—In unstressed syllables *au* can be reduced to *ā* ~ *a*, cf. *āštelə* 'to set/put up'.

The number of lexical divergences is very great, i.e. there is hesitation between *au* and other sounds as *ō*, *ō*, *āi*, *äu*, *ā*, *ū*, *ei*; cf. *štaub* (I, II, III) ~ *štōb* (I) ~ *štōb* (II, III) ~ *štāib* (I) 'dust', *baum* (I) ~ *bām* (I, II, III) ~ *bäum* (I) 'tree', *grau* ~ *grō* 'grey', *blau* (I, II, III) ~ *blō* (I) ~ *blē* (I) ~ *blū* (I) 'blue', *taub* (II, III) ~ *tauB* (I) ~ *tōb* (I) 'pigeon', *tauxp* ~ *tōxp* 'to dip, duck', *šauf* (I) ~ *šōw* (II, III) 'shovel', *daumən* (I, II, III) ~ *dümən* (I) 'thumb', *haut* (I) ~ *hejt* (II, III) 'skin, hide'.

It is usually assumed that, from an etymological point of view, *au* alone can here correspond to former *ū* in Western Yiddish.<sup>28</sup> But its equivalents in Ctl. Yiddish dialects, on the one hand, and the astonishing parallels with many medieval German "language islands" (*Sprachinseln*) in South-eastern Europe (at least as regards the correspondences *ō* ~ *ō*), on the other, suggest caution about the drawing of premature conclusions.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Weinreich, "Retrograde Sound Shift," *loc. cit.*; Beranek, "Jiddisch," col. 197.

<sup>29</sup> This *au* ~ *ō/ō* variation is a striking phenomenon in the German diaspora dialects of Deutschpilsen (Hung. Nagyörzsöny) in Northern Hungary and in certain North Italian dialect islands as well; cf. "Randbemerkungen," pp. 351f. See also E. Krausmayer, *Historische Lautgeographie* . . ., §§34f., 21b3, 14d3.

is highly possible that /au/ in our case represents neither an original "diphthongization" nor a "survival" form, but is the result of a retrograde shift (like that to *ū* in eastern Yiddish)<sup>30</sup> determined by several—mostly extralinguistic—factors.

As the diphthong is unknown in Hungarian, the substitute form *ā·u* or even *ā* appear in the Yiddish of young people; e.g. *blā·u* Blau, *rāfmān* Raufmann (family names).

In the Hebrew-Aramaic component of the dialect the diphthong /au/ does not originally occur, but as a result of Western Ashkenazic (German) influence upon the liturgy in the recitation of sacred texts we often hear *au* instead of the dialectal *āi* ~ *qi*, cf. *bājre* and *baure* 'Creator' in benediction formulas. The diphthong *au* is also transcribed in Latin letters in the Hungarian journal of the Community, where we sometimes find both forms on one and the same page; e.g. "raus" = /rauš/ by a reformed rabbi and "rajs" = /rājš ~ rājš/ 'beginning . . .' (. . . /hašono/ 'of the year') by an orthodox rabbi.<sup>31</sup>

## 2.2. CONSONANTS

### (a) Semivowels

**2.111.** /j/. The consonantal phoneme /j/ occurs in this form only in initial position: *jīd* 'Jew', *jəx* (I) ~ *jəxt* (II, III) 'yoke', *jam* 'sea', *jəŋkəf* (I) 'Jacob', *jəz* 'Joshua; Jesus'. The more frequent form is the glide *i* in the position between vowels. With respect to the glide we have to differentiate between front and back vowels: before *a*, *o* the glide becomes an organic part of a so-called triphthong (*āiə*, *oiə*, etc.), even though in several cases it appears in the full form of the phoneme, cf. *nājəs* (occasionally also *nājəs* 'new(s)'), *jāin* ~ *jājin* 'wine'. Before *ü*, *ū*, *i*, *ī* the speaker also can choose *i* or *j*: *jāiə* ~ *jəšijə* 'Joshua', *t'ūjə* (I) ~ *twūjə* (II, III) or *t'ūjə* ~ *twūjə* 'grain'.

In unstressed initial syllables of some words, /j/ can be dropped, as in *isrō'əl* (II, III) ~ *isrō'əl* (I) 'Israel', *jitshok* (II, III) ~ *itshok* (I) ~ *itshox* (I) ~ *itsig* (I) ~ *itsəg* (II, III) 'Isaac', *jāx* ~ *vəx* (unstressed variants to the full form *ləvəx*) 'I'.

In position after consonants and before vowels we often hear *j*, but the semivowel is also absolutely normal: *berjə* 'an excellent/very strong man', but *mīrjam* (I) ~ *marjəm* (II, III) ~ *marjəm* (II, III) 'Miriam'.

The Yiddish survivals in the speech of young people have the single form *j*, cf. *jājin*, *mīrjām*, *jām*; in unstressed positions, *i*: *izrā'el* ~ *izrō'el*, *itshāk*.

<sup>30</sup> U. Weinreich, "Retrograde Sound Shift," *loc. cit.*

<sup>31</sup> *Uj élet* XVI (1960), no. 18 (September 15, 1960), p. 1.



**2.212.** /w/. The phoneme /w/ is regularly rendered as a labiodental sound (cf. *nəḏōwə* 'alms', *dəwqirə* 'Deborah', *dōwəd* (I) ~ *dōwəd* (II, III) 'David'), but the bilabial equivalent can be observed as well, not only in clusters, as in *šwarts* 'black', *tswan* 'tongs', *kwitl* 'note', *ūngwā* 'Ungvár (place name)', *lēwn* 'lions', but in other positions, too; cf. *ēvələ* (I) ~ *ēvələ* (I) and *ēwarl* (II, III) 'oven/stove (dim.)'. The sound *w* may alternate with voiced bilabial *b* as in the medieval German colonies in Central Slovakia.<sup>32</sup> Informant I, for example, said *beltkrig* 'world war' etc., without perceiving the difference in his own pronunciation. In German dialects the alternation *w* ~ *b* is a very old one and *b* is even today characteristic of especially archaic diaspora dialects in the eastern and southeastern areas of contiguous German territory.<sup>33</sup>

A semivowel *y* occurs as a second element of triphthongs, cf. *p'ayər* (I, III) ~ *p'ayə* (I) 'peasant', *mayər* 'wall', *zayər* 'sour', *bayən* 'to build', but a correlation like the one between *j* and *i* cannot be observed here.

Under literary German influence we find the form *wir* besides the true dialectal form *mīr* 'we'. *wir* is, of course, a variant brought about by "refinement" of speech.

When final, /w/ appears as *v* or—even more often—as *f*, cf. *lēf* (I) 'lion' (but III: *lēw*; and *lēwn* regularly in the plural), *jəntəv* ~ *jəntaf* ~ *jəntəv* *jəntaf* 'a Jewish holiday' (besides *jəntəwəsn* 'feast'), *jənkəf* 'Jacob' (besides *jəjnkəv* dim.), *ganəf* ~ *ganəv* 'thief' (and *ganwənən* 'to steal'). Sometimes before nasals and liquids we see the same alternation in medial position: *kətsōwn* (I) ~ *kətsōfn* (I) ~ *kətsōfn* (II) 'butchers', *šaufl* (I) ~ *šəufv* (II, III) 'shovel'.

The Yiddish of young people shows, like Hungarian, only labiodental *v* *ləvājə* 'burial', *dōvəd* 'David', *hələvāj* 'would that . . .' etc. In final position the fluctuation between *v* and *f* is also present: *gənef*, but *jəntəv* ~ *jəntəf* and the like.

(b) Liquids

**2.221.** /l/. The phoneme /l/ resembles common German /l/. It is thus darker than Hungarian /l/ but not so dark as the so-called Slavic (Polish

<sup>32</sup> J. Hanika, *Ostmitteldeutsch-bairische Volkstumsmischung im westkarpathischen Bergbauggebiet*, Münster/W., 1933, p. 81; idem, *Siedlungsgeschichte und Lautgeographie des deutschen Haulandes in der Mittelslowakei*, Munich, 1952, §40 (pp. 96f.).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. "Randbemerkungen," pp. 357f.; H. Protze, "Zum bairischen und ostfränkischen Anteil am Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen," in *Jahrbuch für Fränkische Landesforschung* XX (=Festschrift E. Schwarz I), Kallmünz-Opf., 1960, pp. 338ff.; E. Schwarz, "Probleme alter Sprachinselmundarten," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* LVIII (1934), pp. 353ff.; idem, *Die deutschen Mundarten*, Göttingen, 1936, pp. 100ff.; idem, *Die Herkunft der Siebenbürger und Zipser Sachsen*, Munich, 1937, p. 191.

Russian, Ukrainian) /l/.<sup>34</sup> This quality occurs in all positions, cf. *lixt* 'light, candle', *lālx* (I, II, III) ~ *lālox* (I) 'sheet', *ləwōnə* 'moon', *blüm* 'flower', *plāpərn* 'to babble', *qlək* 'plug, peg', *šlāxt* 'bad, ill', *glīk* 'luck', *klaubn* 'to pick', *wald* 'wood, forest', *wqlkə* 'cloud(s)', *fālən* 'to fall', *niltar* (only I) 'washtub', *fqlgə* 'to follow', *gqlzn* 'gnat', *zqlxp* 'to smoke (meat)', *k'qlər* 'cellar', *t'ql* 'valley', *twilə* 'prayer', *šmūl* (I) ~ *šmūlə* (II, III) 'Samuel'.

When intervocalic or final, this /l/ is sometimes longish and cacuminal,<sup>35</sup> cf. *hqlə* 'Heller' (=cent), *t'qlə* 'plate', *ālə* ~ *ālql* 'all', *gezel* 'journeyman', *stīl* 'still, quiet', *šql* '1. bell; 2. diamonds (in cards)'.

As a positional variant after dorsals it can also appear as palatalized *l'*, cf. *gl'ōz* (besides *glōs*) 'glass', *gl'ōbn* (bes. *glaubn*) 'believe', *kl'ā* (~ *klā*) 'small, little'. If /l/ stands in a syllabic position after consonants, *l* regularly has a sharp onset (it is "stosstonig"); sometimes, after dorsals, we find *l'*: *faršimplt* 'mouldy', *mazl* 'luck', *gōdl* ~ *gūdql* (only I) 'a respected man, an expert in the Talmud', *bōwl* 'Babylon', *šəvxl* 'brains, mind', *himl* 'heaven, sky', *štejndql* (I) ~ *štānl* (II, III) 'gravel'; as against *zau-igl* 'hedgehog', *orgl* 'organ', but *gəšaukl* 'swung'.

The rudiments contain only *l*, absolutely corresponding with the Hungarian equivalent, cf. *volf* Wolf (family name), *šūl* 'synagogue', *ləlet*, *ləvōnql*. Yiddish *l* appears here either as *-el* or as *-li*,<sup>36</sup> e.g. *māzel* (in *māzeltof*) ~ *māzli* 'luck', *siderli* 'prayer book' (< *sīdərql*), *bōvli* 'inferior goods'.

**2.222.** /r/. The phoneme is in all positions a rolled apical *r*, but in the parole of some speakers uvular *R* may also appear,<sup>37</sup> cf. *rūfən* 'to call', *brāt* 'broad', *qrūm* 'awl', *prīfūn* 'test', *frī* 'early', *trāig* 'trough', *štrūmq* 'stocking', *grībən* 'greaves', *krīg* 'war', *nāriš* 'mad, foolish, odd', *bārg* 'mountain', *štārk* (I) ~ *štark* (II, III) 'strong'.

A positional variant is an imperfectly pronounced *r* which can vanish

<sup>34</sup> F. J. Beranek, *Die jiddische Mundart Nordostungarns*, Brunn-Leipsic, 1941, §2.

<sup>35</sup> I have called these "long" consonants cacuminal because, in contrast to the true geminates of the neighboring languages, they are not true "consonantal diphthongs," but are distinguished by pressure and a retroflexion of the tongue. Cf. "Randbemerkungen," p. 343.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. C. J. Hutterer, "Zur Frage der jiddischen Lehnwörter im Madjarischen," *Mitteilungen aus dem Arbeitskreis für Jiddistik* II (1960), pp. 24ff.; idem, "Tréfi ~ tréfi ~ tréfil," *Magyar nyelv* LVII (1961), 84ff.

<sup>37</sup> The use of the uvular *R* was generally considered as a characteristic of the speech of the Hungarian aristocracy and the Jewish upper middle classes. It is to be noted that in contrast to the general lingual *r* in Yiddish, in the old Russian Empire, too, the use of uvular *R* was called *kyasiviy b'eloyuskij aksent* by one of the most important settlements of old Russian Jewry.

completely. But in this case the following consonant becomes long, cf. *k'ā'sh* 'cherry', *vā'stlbx* (I, II, III) ~ *vā'stlbx* (II, III) 'frankfurter', *fā'tsh* (I, II, III) ~ *fā'tsæg* (III) 'forty', *wōrtsl* (I) ~ *wōtsl* (II, III) ~ *wātsl* (II, III) 'root', *špār* (I) ~ *špār* (II, III) 'to shut, block'.

We find the same in the Hebrew-Aramaic component of our dialect: *rūs* 'Ruth', *brīs* (I) ~ *bris* (II, III) 'circumcision', *prūtā* 'penny' (as a part of idiomatic expressions), *drōšā* (I) ~ *drōšā* (II, III) 'sermon', *srōrā* 'lord, chief, boss', *xewrā* 'company', *awrōm* 'Abraham', *xqrbn* 'destruction'. An alternation *r* ~ *r* is conditioned by a strong velarized *x* before it in *x'ūpā* (I) ~ *xrūpā* (I) ~ *x'ūpā* (II, III) 'canopy'.

Noteworthy is the alternation of *l* ~ *r* in *šēkēl* ~ *šēkvl* and *šēkār* 'lie' by informant I.

Young people always produce lingual *r*, as in Hungarian; cf. *trēfi* ~ *trēfli*, *hēvrā*, *štārk* Stark (family name), but never in *hūpē* < *x'ūpā*; *rōl* 'rabbi', *rōt* Roth (family name).

#### (c) Nasals

**2.231.** /m/. The phoneme is bilabial *m*, cf. *mōtig* 'Monday', *mist* 'dirt', *magpd* 'preacher', *šmōl* 'narrow, small', *šmadp* 'to baptize', *zūmār* 'summer', *emās* '1. truth; 2. right, correct', *pōnām* 'face', *zēmī* 'roll', *xāxma* ~ *xqxmā* 'cleverness, prudence', *ōtām* 'breath'. In intervocalic and final position there also occurs so-called long, cacuminal *m*; cf. *gənūmān* 'taken', *imā* 'ever', *k'ūmān* 'to come', *dūm* 'silly, fool', *rām* 'Rome', *tūmā* 'church'.

Labiodental *m* and a dorso-bilabial nasal are only positional variants and need not be transcribed. /m/ is labiodental in the position before labiodental spirants (*imfōn* 'to vaccinate', *šimfōn* 'to cuss', *štrūmf* 'stockings', *hēimwē* 'home-sickness') and dorso-bilabial before *g* (*ūmgar* 'going-round, circuit').

Lexically, /m/ alternates with /n/ in *ādām* (I, II, III) ~ *ādū* (II, III) (besides I: *ējdam* ~ *ējdām*) 'son-in-law'.

The rudiments do not differ from the old forms: *mēlāmēd* (< *mēlamvd*) 'Jewish teacher', *emēs*, *pōnem*.

**2.232.** /n/. The phoneme is usually rendered as a dental, cf. *nōdl* 'needle', *knexl* 'ankle', *šnel* 'quick(ly)', *mōnvt* 'month', *brēnān* 'to burn', *hūnd* 'dog', *wintv* 'winter', *gānts* '1. quite, whole; 2. goose', *mēntš* ~ *mēnš* 'man, human being'.

In intervocalic and final position "long," cacuminal *n* occurs too, but is rather rare: *špīn(e)* 'spider', *wān* 'when', *dūnār* 'thunder', *gəwūnān* 'won'.

Likewise we find a dorsal *n* before /g, k/ (*tsimārīnk* (I) 'cinnamon', *fīngā* 'finger', *šlīngl* 'rascal', *ūngwā* 'Užhorod' (Hung. Ungvár), *mūnkāts*

'Munkatsch' (Hung. Munkács, Ukr. Mukačevo), *ūngār* 'Hungary', *lūnk* 'spark') and a "laryngeal" *n* after *k, g, ŋ* (*borgp* 'to borrow', *līg* 'to lie', *trōgp* 'to carry', *frēgp* ~ *frēgp* 'to ask', *lūgp* 'to tell lies', *mēlkp* 'to milk', *imēkp* 'to smell', *bvdēkp* 'a bridal ceremony' (cf. German *Bedecken*), *gəgān* ~ *gəgānān* 'gone', *fālān* ~ *fālān* 'to demand'.

The final voiced dorsal stop is quite absorbed, unlike Central Yiddish: *tsūn* (I) ~ *tsūn* (II, III) 'tongue', *tsān* 'tongs', *lan* 'long', *tswan* 'force'. *n* is absorbed in *dīstīg* (I; but II, III: *dīnstag*) 'Tuesday', *mōtig* 'Monday', *fūftsen* '15', *fūftisig* '50', *fūfte* 'fifth' (all I).

Young people pronounce *n* as in Hungarian, cf. *vīntērnits* Winternitz (family name), *nōtē* ~ *nōsen* 'Nathan'.

#### (d) Labials

**2.241.** /b/. This phoneme is a voiced bilabial plosive consonant in all positions, cf. *brūk*, *boksv* (I) ~ *boksv* (II, III) 'carob' (cf. German *Bockshorn*), *bēln* 'to bark', *baln* 'ball', *blī·an* 'to blossom', *hēbām* 'midwife', *zaubār* 'clean', *štībl* 'little room', *zīb* 'sieve', *tswēbn* 'raisins', *brōxā* (I) ~ *brōxā* (II, III) 'blessing, benediction', *balbōs* 'master of the house, householder', *šabēs* 'Sabbath'.

In intervocalic position a long *b* occasionally occurs: *gliḥār* 'to curdle, coagulate', *ābp* (I) ~ *ābv* (I) ~ *ābv* (II, III) 'but', *bāḥā* (I) ~ *babā* (II, III) 'grandmother', *ksūḥā* 'marriage contract'.

When final (as in the Bavarian dialects in Hungary) /b/ occurs as a half-lenis, especially in the speech of informant I, surely as a consequence of the surrounding diaspora German (Bavarian) and Viennese (i.e. East Bavarian) vernacular influence,<sup>38</sup> cf. *taub* (I) ~ *taub* (II, III) ~ *tōb* (I) 'deaf', *wēb* (I) ~ *wāb* (I, II, III) 'wife', *līb* 'dear', *gēb* (I) 'give', *grāb* (I) ~ *grōb* (I, II, III) '1. coarse, rough; 2. unpolished, rude'.

Likewise we find an unvoiced *p* before unvoiced consonants: *zipte* 'seventh', *lept* 'he lives', *gēhāpt* 'had', *grōpst* 'you dig', *lāpk'ēs* 'loaf cheese'.

The vacillation between *b* and *p* in final position resembles the alternation *b* ~ *B*, cf. *k'alb* (I, II, III) ~ *k'alp* (I) 'calf', *farb* (I) ~ *fārb* (II, III) ~ *farp* (I) 'color'. This alternation of *b* and *p* ~ *p'* can be observed in other positions too, but for different, lexical historical reasons: *būk* (I) ~ *bik* (I) ~ *p'ūk* (II, III) 'hump, back', *bāudn* (II, III) ~ *pāudn* (I) 'garret, loft', *bild* ~ *pilt* ~ *pild* 'picture', *bāšīšn* ~ *pšīšn* 'soiled with feces', *ebās* ~ *epās* ~ *ēbēs* (I) ~ *epās* (I, II, III) 'something', *nēbl* (I) ~ *nēbl* (I, II, III) ~ *nēpl* (I) 'fog'.

As to the variations *b* ~ *w*, cf. **2.212**. This is seen also in *ōbnd* (I) ~ *ōwnit* (II, III) ~ *ōwānt* (II, III) 'evening'.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. "Randbemerkungen," pp. 339f.



In the Yiddish of young people *b* stands in all cases: *rebe* 'rabbi', *šabe*, *bezdin* 'Jewish law-court' (< *bəzdin*), *bōHer* 'young man', but *p* in *epes* 'something' (a rare word, in any case).

**2.242.** /p/. This unvoiced fortis phoneme is observed in all positions: *pest* ~ *pešt* 'Pest', *pāp*, 'pap, paste', *pārmat* (only I) 'parchment (only of the Law)', *plats* 'place', *polāk* 'Pole', *špēndəl* 'splinter', *dāmpf* ~ *dampf* 'leaven' (cf. German *Dampf*), *tsep* ~ *tsepele* 'plait of hair, pigtail (dim.)', *epel* 'apple', *knāp* ~ *knop* 'button', *zūp* 'soup', *tropn* 'drop'.

Initially before vowels aspirated *p'* is also very frequent; cf. *p'ishn* 'to piss', *p'üşkə* 'flint', *p'araplē* 'umbrella, parasol', *p'ayə* (I) ~ *p'ayər* (II, III) 'peasant', *p'ejarin* ~ *p'ejarte* 'peasant's wife', *p'ūtər* 'butter', *p'eəl* (I) 'pearl', *p'ūpə* 'doll', *p'elts* 'fur, pelt', *p'ōrats* ~ *pōrats* 'nobleman, aristocrat', *p'atər* 'to get rid of', *p'ūrəm* 'Purim', *p'enəmə* 'faces'.—It is hard to formulate a rule about the alternation *p* ~ *p'* in initial position before vowels, for they can always alternate with one another. We can perhaps define *p'* as an emphatic-positional variant of /p/, since it can be heard above all in emphatic speech.

In intervocalic position (and before syllabic consonants) a "long," i.e. cacuminal variant *p* also occurs: *tipl* 'little pot', *k'epələ* 'little head', *p'ūpə* 'doll', *xapm* 'to seize, catch', *vipər* 'viper'.

About the alternation *p* ~ *b*, cf. **2.241**.

Young people utter *p* throughout, as in Hungarian: *pārāplē*, *pōrets*, *pāterol* ~ *pāterol* 'gets rid of', *pōnem*, *kāpele*, *pōliši* (< *pāliš*) 'a Polish (Carpathorussian) Jew'.

**2.243.** /p Pp/. The bilabial fricative is the usual rendition of this phoneme: *štrūmp* 'stocking', *gīpl* 'summit, top', *imqn* 'to vaccinate', *šimqən* 'to abuse, insult, rail', *hām* 'hemp', *qēndələ* 'a little pan', *qlək* 'plug, peg'. The variant *Pp*, a partial adjustment to the *pf* of literary German and the surrounding colonial German dialects, seems to be used permanently, above all, in medial and final position, cf. *rēmPqTl* (II, III: unknown) 'a big slice of bread', *qPqlbejmləx* 'apple-trees (dim.)', *tsqPq* besides *tsop* ~ *tsqp* ~ *tsāp* 'plait of hair, pigtail', *tsePq* ~ *tsep* (plural), *k'uPq* (I) 'copper', *k'arPq* (I) ~ *karp* (III) 'carp'.

When initial it often alternates with simple labiodental /f/: *fān* ~ *qān* ~ *Pqān* 'pan', *qrim* ~ *frim* 'awl, bodkin', *qerd* ~ *ferd* 'horse', *qēifn* (I) ~ *felfn* (I) ~ *qāfn* (II, III) 'to whistle', *qēfv* (I) ~ *fēfv* (I) ~ *qefər* (II, III) 'pepper'.

The synchronic confusion of these sounds is typified by the fact that it even affects words which historically had /f/, cf. *qlēkig* 'spotted, stained', *qenstē* ~ *fēnstə* (I) 'window', *finaf* (I) ~ *fünq* (II, III) 'five'.

In the Yiddish of young people this *q* does not occur, or it stands

exclusively as a positional variant after such labial sounds as *m*, cf. *limpel* ~ *šimqol* 'he cusses'.

**2.244.** /f/. This phoneme may also appear as a phoneme in all positions: *fūs* 'foot, leg', *qks* 'fox', *flāks* 'flax', *frātig* 'Friday', *frizēr* 'hairstylist', *k'āftn* 'caftan', *lefl* 'spoon', *k'āft* 'power', *šōf* 'sheep', *tif* 'deep', *šārf* 'sharp', *dorf* 'village'.

As a positional or occasional variant, "long," cacuminal *f* occurs in medial and final position: *qfn* 'open', *gəlōfn* 'run (pp.)', *šif* 'ship', *k'ūfə* 'trunk, box', *büfl* 'buffalo'.

As to the vacillation *f* ~ *q*, see **2.243**.

Positionally conditioned *v*, *w* can appear instead of /f/: *wqlv* besides *wqlf* 'wolf', *wolvel* Wolf (a pet name), *qlv* ~ *qlf* 'eleven'.

Rudiments have only *f*, cf. *s(ē)fārd* (< *svarD*) 'Spanish Jew', *volf* Wolf (family name).

#### (e) Dentals

**2.251.** /d/. The phoneme is rendered as voiced *d*: *dūnk* 'dark', *dawənən* 'to pray', *doktər* 'doctor, physician', *deykp* 'to think', *doršt* 'thirst', *jidiš* (I) ~ *jidəš* (II, III) 'Jewish, Yiddish', *šindl* 'shingle', *mōdə* 'fashion, mode', *qel* 'or', *jid* 'Jew', *geld* 'money'.

When medial between vowels it can also become a "long" *d*, cf. *awāddə* 'certainly', while in final position it appears sometimes as an unvoiced half-lenis *D*: *fēld* (I) ~ *fēld* (I, II, III) 'field', *qəd* 'earth', *wild* ~ *wild* 'wild', *qbd* (I) 'evening', *svarD* 'Spanish Jew', *rōD* 'wheel'.

An alternation may be observed in the case of *d* ~ *t* ~ *T*: *k'alt* ~ *k'alD* 'cold', *arbvd* ~ *arbəd* ~ *ārbvt* ~ *arbēit* (I) ~ *arbət* (II, III) 'work, labor', *hemvT* (I) ~ *hemvd* (I) ~ *hempt* (II) ~ *hemvd* (II, III) 'shirt', *mīt* ~ *mīd* 'weary', *k'inT* (I) ~ *k'ind* (I, II, III) ~ *kind* (II, III) 'child'.

Palatalized *dj* has been recorded only in one Hungarian place name: *hēdjvləx-māt* 'Hegyalja-Mád: Hegyalja (Tokaj county)'.

Members of the younger generation do not know the variants *D* and *T*: the long *d* in *jidiš* is a spelling pronunciation of an international loan-form (cf. German *jiddisch*, English *Yiddish*) in their speech.

**2.252.** /t/. This sound displays variants analogous to those described for /p/. When initial before vowels we find here also *t* and emphatic *t'* side by side: *təxtər* 'daughter', *tūv* '1. cloth; 2. kerchief, shawl, necktie', *tants* 'dance', *tir* (I) ~ *t'īər* (I) '1. door; 2. animal', *top* ~ *tāp* 'pot' and *t'epelē* 'little pot', *t'ejər* 'dear', *tānə* ~ *t'ānə* 'Danube', *t'ejs* 'Tisza' (river name), *t'aləs* 'prayer shawl', *tāirə* (I, II, III) ~ *t'ajərə* (I) 'Thora'.—Emphatic *t'* is predominant only in the speech of informant I.

In other positions *t* alone is the rendition of this phoneme, cf. *trejbn*

'to chase, drive', *šültə* 'shoulder', *knōtŋ* 'knot', *gērštł* 'barley', *brēt* 'board', *welt* 'world', *gūt* 'good'.

In intervocalic position "long" (cacuminal) *t* can also be observed: *p'ūtər* 'butter', *wātŋ* 'to wait', *blētər* 'leaves', *muṭə* 'mother', *mūtə* 'mothers', *oṭər* (I, rare) 'adder'.

As to the vacillation between *t* and the *d*-sounds, see 2.251.

**2.253.** /s z/. In consequence of the fusion of Hebrew-Aramaic and German components of the vocabulary, both sounds are, contrary to the case of German dialects, fullfledged phonemes.

Initially /s/ occurs in words of Hebrew-Aramaic or other non-Germanic origin: *siḵə* 'tabernacle', (ə)*sāx* 'many, much', *səd* ~ *sād* 'secret', *sider* (I) 'prayer-book', *smētŋ* (I) ~ *smētə* (II, III) 'cream'; /z/ is found in words of German origin, but also in Hebrew-Aramaic words where historically determined: *zīs* 'sweet', *zün* 'sun', *zāil* (I) ~ *zäul* (II, III) 'sole', *zū* (I, II) ~ *zi(n)* (II, III) 'son', *zōnəf* 'penis'.

In medial position the distribution is different. In words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin the historical *s/z* opposition is preserved (*xazə(r)* 'pig', *xəzək* 'loss', *pēsax* 'Passover', *xəspəd* 'funeral oration', *māsə* 'story'), whereas in words of Germanic descent one finds the distribution of the positional variants typical of Bavarian German: *s* in unvoiced, *z* in voiced environments (*fəst* 'firm, solid', *bist* '(you) are', *məräst* ~ *marast* 'muddy place', *rəstŋ* 'to roast', *ast* 'branch, bough', as against *ēzł* 'ass', *bēzŋ* 'broom, besom', *ōgrōzł* 'gooseberry', *būzŋ* 'bosom', *lēzŋ* 'to read').

A "long," cacuminal *š* occurs in certain positions, especially between vowels and in final position: *məšing* (I) 'brass', *nišəm* 'miracles', *nūt* 'nut', etc.

Sporadically we hear the alternation *s* ~ *z* in words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin too: *tswīsə* ~ *twīsə* besides *tswīzə* 'prison, jail', *xəzŋ* (I) ~ *xōsŋ* (II, III) 'bridegroom'.

Young people pronounce *s* and *z* as in Hungarian: *pēsäh* 'Passover', *hāzər* 'pig'.

**2.254.** /š ts tš/. are independent phonemes. Their variants may be lengthened in intervocalic or final position: *š* in *p'īšŋ* 'to piss', *tš* in *raṭs* 'rat' or *hāts* 'heart'; for *tš* I have no instances recorded.

Variations exist also in position after /n/: *ünz* ~ *ünts* ~ *üns* 'us'.

The Yiddish of younger people likewise contains all three phonemes, cf. *tsōrəs* (< *tsōrəs*) 'trouble', *tswī* 'Zwi', *tsitsēs* (< *tsitsəs*) 'ritual fringes', *šikšə* (< *šikəsə*) 'non-Jewish girl', *kōšər* (< *k'ōšər*) 'kosher', *bənšol* (< *bənšöl*) 'he blesses'.

## (f) Dorsals and Laryngals

**2.261.** /g/. The phoneme appears in all positions of the word: *gās* 'goat', *gōpl* 'fork', *glēzł* 'glass, cup', *grīn* 'green', *laugp* 'lye, buck', *tsāgŋ* 'to show', *tsigł* 'brick, tile', *āg* 'eye', *zārg* 'care', *galbx* 'priest', *xəgə* 'Christian holiday'.

The occasional variant *k* occurs as in *lāgnən* ~ *lāknən* ~ *lākənən* 'to deny', *pəgātšŋ* ~ *pəkātšŋ* 'small unsweetened cakes', or as a "long" (cacuminal) *g* as in *məšügə* ~ *məšūgə* ~ *məšügə* 'crazy'.

In the rudiments we find a voiced *g* in all positions, as in Hungarian: *məšügə*, *gemōrə* (< *gəmərə*) 'Gemara: advanced section of study'.

**2.262.** /k/. The situation here is similar to that of /p/ and /t/. The phoneme was rendered only by informant I as an aspirated *k'* in initial position: *k'qx* 'kitchen', *k'erŋ* '1. to brush, sweep; 2. to turn', *k'ū* 'cow', *k'qts* 'short', *k'astŋ* 'chest'. In the initial cluster *kr-* it also appeared in this informant's speech mostly as an aspirated *k'*: *k'replbx* 'little fritters', *k'retsig* 'itchy', *k'rop* ~ *k'rāp* 'crop, maw, goitre' besides *kriump* 'crooked, curved, bent; lame', *kreŋk* 'illness', etc.

Otherwise the unaspirated variant prevails in all positions: *gətrikp* 'dry', *gəzōkt* 'said', *štikł* 'bit', *lēkŋ* 'to lick', *kwitł* '1. card; 2. note for the rabbi', *klaus* 'cell, hermitage', *knōtŋ* 'knot', *zak* 'sack, bag', *t'irk* 'Turk', *ek* 'corner'. When intervocalic or final it also appears as a long, cacuminal *k*: *ākəŋ* 'to plow', *plēkig* 'spotted, stained', *bāk* 'cheek', *tsiḵə* 'sugar'.

The words *gebāks* and *gebāxs* 'baker's ware, pastry, cake' present an interesting pair of lexical variants.

Words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin do not differ from the general rule: *k'ōwd* 'honor', *k'ēləf* 'dog, cur', *k'alə* 'bride', *kəbōlə* ~ *k'əbōlə* '1. Kabbala; 2. receipt', *kəsāf* 'script', *šikər* 'drunk', *sūke* 'tabernacle'.

The rudiments, like Hungarian, know only unaspirated *k*: *kōvəd*, *kālē*, *šikər* ~ *šiker*.

**2.263.** /h x/. The relation between these phonemes is similar to that between /z/ and /s/ (cf. 2.253). Unvoiced *h* stands only in initial position (to some extent in syllable-initials, too): *hūt* 'hat', *hüŋgər* 'hunger', *hōs* 'hare', *hītər* 'keeper, guardian, herdsman', *hēfŋ* '(cooking) pot', *hargənən* 'to kill', *bəhēmə* 'horned cattle: ox, cow'.

/x/ originally stood only in medial or final position in words of Germanic origin as in *fārxt* 'fear, dread, fright', *gəlāxtər* 'laughter', *šūvx* (I) 'shoe', *hālx* 'high', *dqrx* 'thorough', but in words of the Hebrew-Aramaic and other (e.g. Slavic) components it occurs initially as well, cf. *xālə* 'dough of Sabbath bread', *xēdər* 'Jewish elementary school', *xəspəd* 'funeral oration', *xapŋ* 'to seize, catch', *xreŋ* ~ *xraŋ* 'horse radish'.



This /x/ is a dorsal sound, the so-called *ach*-Laut of the German grammarians, e.g. in *lixt*, *ziṽxp* ~ *züāxp*, *rext*, *gezixt*, *knęxt*.

The rudiments, like Hungarian, show only *h*, or else voiced *H* in intervocalic position, cf. *hēdę*, *heşpęd*, *hālē*, *düHęnol* (< *düṽxanęn*) 'he performs the priestly benediction'.

### 3. INVENTORY OF PHONEMES; NEUTRALIZATION

3.1. The following vowel and consonant phonemes may be selected from the great number of variants:

Vowels									
	a		ā				āi (äu)	ei	au
	o	e	ō	ē					
		i		ī					
		ü		ū					
Consonants									
	m	n							
	b	d			g	j			
	p	t	ts	tš	k				
	w		z		r				
	f		s	š	x				
	φ					h			
		l							

3.2. The reduced sound *a* ~ *v*—as in the German dialects—should not be considered a phoneme; it is produced by the neutralization of /a/ and /o/—or even of other vowels, too—in unstressed position. Accordingly it does not occur in stressed position.<sup>39</sup>

3.3. The other cases of neutralization need not be mentioned, because they do not deviate from the rules defined for the other Yiddish dialects.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless we must point to the fact that the cases of neutralization

<sup>39</sup> H.-J. Schädlich, in his remarkable paper "Zur Phonologie der ostvogtländischen Mundart von Neudorf" (*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* X [1961], pp. 213ff.) considers the reduced sound an independent phoneme which is opposed to a so-called zero-phoneme, cf. *dswinl* 'twin'—*dswinl* 'twins'. This is not even here a phoneme, but only a variant resulting from neutralization. It is, in fact, the equivalent of *all* vowels in final position, which can be reduced in German dialects. We are here rejecting Trubetzkoy's thesis, too (cf. his "Zur allgemeinen Theorie der phonologischen Vokalsysteme," *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* I [1931], p. 55).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. U. Vaynraykh, [Phonemic Structure . . .] (see f.n. 1), pp. 221ff.

considered as "assimilation" phenomena by the conventional linguistic schools are missing in our dialect as a consequence of the endeavor towards a "more correct" pronunciation, cf. *lēbŋ* 'to live' instead of *lēbmŋ* (which is also still in existence). These cases are everywhere noted in the transcription.

### 4. DIALECT-GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

4.1. The phonemics of Budapest Yiddish clearly proves the Western Yiddish character of the basic stratum of this dialect. The following major isoglosses set it off from the adjoining Central Yiddish dialect:

CY /i, ī ~ i/ correspond to Budapest /ü ~ ū/:<sup>41</sup> *kriṽm* || *krümp* 'crooked', *fŋ* || *fün* 'from', *štriṽp* || *štrümp* 'stockings'; *kī* || *k'ü* 'cow', *hŋ* || *hūt* 'hat', *blim* || *blüm* 'flower', *gŋ* || *gūt* 'good'.

CY /ai/ corresponds to: (1) Budapest /ā/, e.g. *tswai* || *tswā* 'two', *lalm* || *lām* 'clay', *braŋt* || *brāt* 'wide', *flaiš* || *flāš* 'meat'; (2) Budapest /ō ~ ē/, e.g. *mailax* || *mēlax* 'king', *šnai* || *šnē* 'snow', *laip* || *lēf*, *lēw* 'lion'.

CY /oi/ corresponds to Budapest /ā/ as well: *loifŋ* || *lāfŋ* 'to run', *kęifŋ* || *k'āfŋ* 'to buy', *bęim* || *bām* 'tree', *ęik* || *āg* 'eye'; but also to /äu ~ āi/ in the Budapest dialect: *štręi* || *štrāi* 'straw', *pęilŋ* || *p'āulŋ* 'Poland', *šlęim* || *šlāim* 'Solomon', etc.

CY /u ~ ū ~ ü/ appears in Budapest as /ō ~ ē/: *tül*, *tūal* || *t'ēl* 'valley', *rūf*, *rūaf* || *rōf* 'rabbi', *zugę* || *zēgę* 'to say', *tuk* || *tōg* 'day', *duwät* || *dōwvđ* 'David'.

CY /ā/ corresponds to Budapest /ęi ~ (ai)/: *tās* || *t'ęis* 'Tisza', *bātš* || *pęitš* 'whip', *frānd* || *fręind* 'relative'.

CY /ou/ corresponds to /au/ in Budapest: *ouf* || *auf* 'on', *mous* || *maus* 'mouse', *moul* || *maul* 'mouth', *hous* || *haus* 'house'.

In the consonantism the greatest difference is the existence of the aspirated *p'*, *t'*, *k'* and *φ*-*Pφ* in the Budapest dialect.

4.2. At the same time a comparison of our dialect with "classical" Western Yiddish draws attention to a great many essential differences.

Western Yiddish /ei/ corresponds to /ē ~ ę/ in the Budapest dialect: *šnei* || *šnē*, *meilax* || *mēlax*, *keis* || *k'ēs* 'cheese', *xeisät* || *xēsäd* 'grace'.

Western Yiddish /ou ~ au/ or /öü/ appear as /äu/ or /āi/ and the like in Budapest Yiddish: *fougl* ~ *faugl* ~ *foiugl* || *fäugl* 'bird', *grous* ~ *graus* ~ *grōis* || *grāis* ~ *grōis* 'large', etc.

<sup>41</sup> The diachronic statement cannot be avoided in the case of the etymological *u*-sounds; that is, on the one hand the functional distribution of the *i*-sounds is minimal in comparison with Ctl. Yiddish; on the other hand, our dialect possesses the phoneme /ü/ which is unknown in Ctl. Yiddish.

Compared with the Yiddish of neighboring Pressburg,<sup>42</sup> it is obvious that the diphthongal variations of the /o/, /e/ and /i/ sounds rarely occur in the Budapest dialect (only in the speech of informant I).

4.3. The dialect-geographic characterization would be incomplete without mention of the fact that at the turn of the century the closest environment of Budapest Yiddish was German. The German dialects of the Hungarian capital corresponded to the Austro-Bavarian dialect spoken in Southern Moravia and in Lower Austria, especially near Vienna; these dialects were spoken in their pure form in Buda, and with a certain Swabian coloring in Pest.<sup>43</sup> This linguistic environment and the bilingualism of the speakers (especially of informant I) were the causes of a number of innovations not only in vocabulary, but in the phonemics of the language as well. The language of cultural contact of Budapest Jewry—as of the German citizens—was the Viennese variant of the German colloquial language, and the medium of writing was, even in their “Judeo-German” correspondence in Hebrew letters, literary German. This state of affairs did not end until the magyarization of the capital, when the knowledge of Hungarian among Yiddish speakers of Budapest became widespread.

4.4. The great number of phoneme-variants of the Budapest dialect is proof of its transitional character: Budapest Yiddish is one of the transitional dialects connecting the Western and Central Yiddish dialect blocks. Its basis is Western (or even Southwestern) Yiddish colored by Eastern, i.e. Central Yiddish features and influenced by the local Bavarian dialect (“Ostdonaubairisch”), the Viennese vernacular, and literary German. The Yiddish rudiments of the speech of the younger generation show the Hungarian phonemic structure in its nearly complete form.<sup>44</sup>

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. The phonemics of the dialect dealt with in this paper on a synchronic level presents a structure open at each end. According to the tenets of diachronic linguistics, such a state is transitory: it reflects the loss of the original system and the effects of new structures, productive of new,

<sup>42</sup> Cf. E. Schwartz, “A pozsonyi jiddis hangtana” (‘Phonetics of Pressburg Yiddish’), *Egyetemes philologiai közlöny* LIV (1930), 247ff., LV (1931), 33ff.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. C. J. Hutterer, “Zur Sprachgeographie der deutschen Mundarten in Mittelungarn,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* LXXXII (1961 = Festschrift E. Karg-Gasterstädt), pp. 324f.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. C. J. Hutterer, “Hochsprache . . .” (cf. f.n. 12), p. 57.

mixed systems, as can be witnessed, for example, among diaspora German dialects.<sup>45</sup>

5.2. Consequently, in a transitory period of development, the solidity of the phonemes is relaxed (in the case of our dialect it results in a complete change of language, caused by linguistic assimilation). The system is mixed with other systems and the function of the different phonemes is blurred. This phenomenon can be seen in connection with the Budapest Yiddish phonemes /ā/ and /ei~ai/, the function and distribution of which is confused as a consequence of the relations with the more typically Western and the Central types of Yiddish. The result is a lot of free variation.

5.3. Hence, the synchronic “sound change”—which may be the basis for a diachronic sound change—reflects above all changing the “sound intention.”<sup>46</sup> This statement leads to a further conclusion, viz., that linguistic research, to take full cognizance of reality, must not neglect those extralinguistic factors which concretely determine the linguistic character of the different communities. In the case of Budapest Yiddish, these factors comprise the Southwestern Yiddish basis; the Central Yiddish stratum; the influences of the local German dialects, the Viennese and literary German vernacular; and, at present, also the effect of the colloquial Hungarian language.

5.4. The clash of these factors, reflecting many inner contradictions, is smoothed out according to the rules of dialectics. The different dialectal or language strata do not exclude each other on any one level of linguistic structure, as Tesnière thought,<sup>47</sup> but they can be mixed on one and the same level—in our case, on the phonemic one—without preventing the language as a sign system from remaining available to its users.

5.5. Last but not least, another essential feature of language dialectics may be mentioned here. The phonological description of Budapest Yiddish was made strictly on a synchronic level. The results, on the basis of which we localized and interpreted the dialect within the Yiddish language community as a whole, correspond to those of the diachronic

<sup>45</sup> Cf. V. Schirmunski, “Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten,” *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* XVIII (1930), 113ff.; W. Kuhn, *Deutsche Sprachinselforschung*, Plauen, 1934, pp. 254ff.; also C. J. Hutterer, *A Dunántúli . . .* (cf. f.n. 8), pp. 220ff.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. A. Sommerfelt, *Journal de psychologie* XXV, p. 683, cited by Gy. Laziczius, *op. cit.* (see f.n. 16), p. 84.

<sup>47</sup> See L. Tesnière, “Phonologie et mélange de langues,” *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* VIII (1939), p. 85: “Par contre le mélange est impossible entre systèmes similaires de deux langues différentes: deux morphologies ne se mélangent pas; elles ne peuvent que s'exclure.”



investigations carried out in the past. As a matter of fact, the *lege artis* type of investigation is sure to lead to such a result, because what is being described is but different sides of one and the same phenomenon, which necessarily reflect the same objective reality.<sup>48</sup> It seems to be a timely matter to unite the two approaches—the synchronic and the diachronic—which had been detached up to now.<sup>49</sup> Naturally it does not mean the confusion or mixing up of the investigative methods, but the dialectical resolution of the contradictions (which are never antagonistic) on a common platform.

## SUPPLEMENT

[a drōše]<sup>50</sup>

1. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes hot a jidiše waib tsü tūn: zol k'āgene hör trōgn, zol xale nemen ün am šabes lixt ötsindn, wen ir werd āgene hör trōgn, wen ir werd am šabes ka lixt ötsindn, wen ir werd ka xale nemen, dan werd aix di erd nixt tsünemen ün waser werd aix herauswerfn ün dos faier werd aix niks ferbrenen.

2. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, xwil ertsēln a fal. iz gewēzn a dorf. in

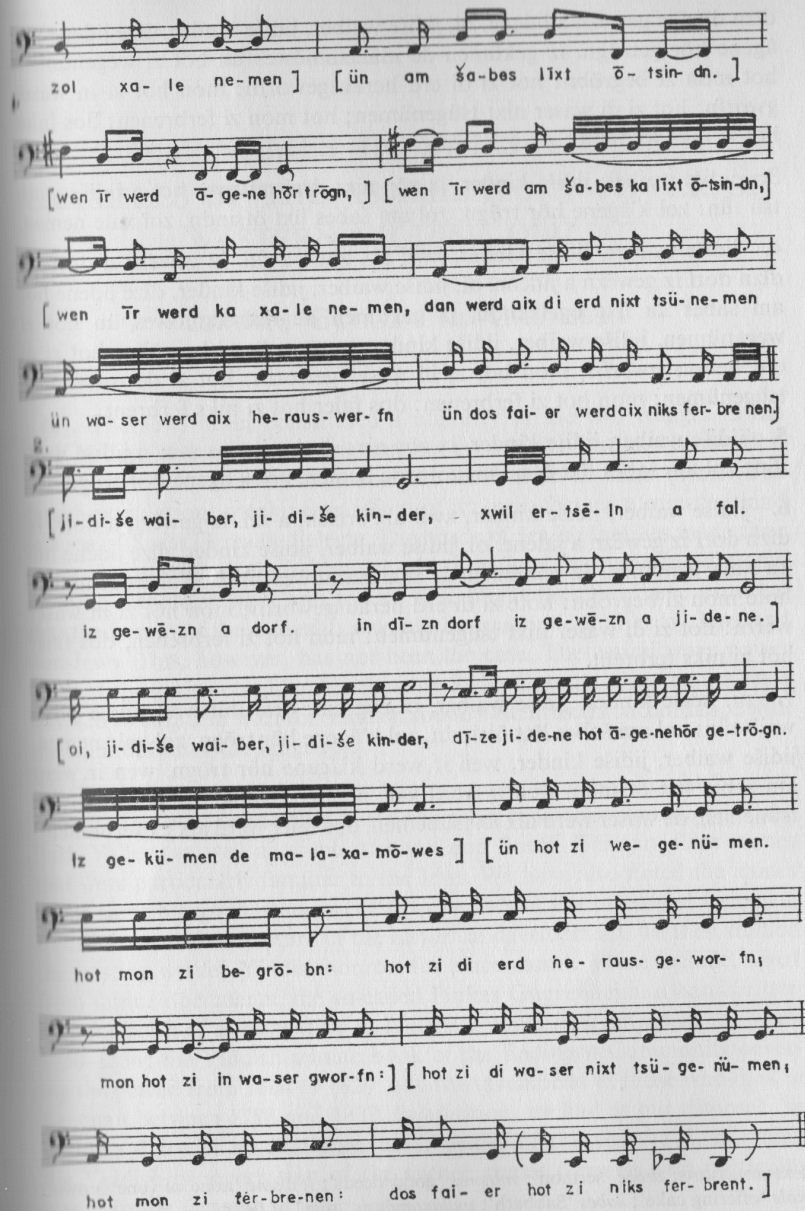
[a drōše]



<sup>48</sup> The question was summarized by Eugenio Coseriu, *Sincronía, diacronía e historia*, Montevideo, 1958, esp. pp. 135ff.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. U. Weinreich's review of C. F. Hockett's *A Course in Modern Linguistics* (1958) in *Romance Philology* XIII (1960), 330f.; see also J. Fourquet, "Phonologie und Dialektologie," *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* XXVI (1958), 161ff.; A. Martinet, *Economie des changements phonétiques*, Berne, 1955, *passim*; R. Grosse, "Strukturalismus und Dialektgeographie," *Biuletyn fonograficzny* III (1960), 89ff.

<sup>50</sup> The text was recited by A. Román-Eckstein (informant II) in February, 1961; the musical transcription was made by Dr. Clara Magdics, Institute of Linguistics, Budapest.



dīzn dorf iz gewēzn a jidene. oi, jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, dīze jidene hot āgene hōr getrōgn. iz gekūmen de malaxamōwes ün hot zi wegenūmen. hot mon zi begrōbn: hot zi di erd herausgeworfn; mon hot zi in waser geworfn: hot zi di waser nixt tsūgenūmen; hot mon zi ferbrenen: dos faier hot zi niks ferbrent.

3. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes hot a jidiše waib tsū tūn: zol k'āgene hōr trōgn, zol am šabes līxt ōtsindn, zol xale nemen.

4. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, xwil aix zōgn a fal. iz gewēzn a dorf, in dīzn dorf iz gewēzn a jidene. oi, jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, dīze jidene hot am šabes ka līxt ōgetsündn. iz gekūmen de malaxamōwes ün hot zi wegenūmen. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, mon wolte zi begrōbn: hot zi di erd herausgeworfn; mon hot zi in waser geworfn: hot zi de waser nixt tsūgenūmen; mon hot zi ferbrenen: dos faier hot zi niks ferbrent.

5. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes müs a jidiše waib tūn: zol am šabes līxt ōtsindn, zol xale nemen, zol k'āgene hōr trōgn.

6. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, xwil aix ertsēln a fal. iz gewēzn a dorf, in dīzn dorf iz gewēzn a jidene. oi, jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, dīze jidene hot ka xale genūmen. iz gekūmen de malaxamōwes ün hot zi wegenūmen. hote mon zi begrōbn: hote zi di erd herausgeworfn; mon hot zi in waser werfn: hot zi di waser nixt tsūgenūmen; mon hot zi ferbrenen, dos faier hot zi niks ferbrent.

7. oi, jidiše kinder, jidiše waiber, ix zōg aix: drai mitswes müs a jidiše waib tūn: zol am šabes līxt ōtsindn, zol k'āgene hōr trōgn, zol xale nemen. jidiše waiber, jidiše kinder, wen ir werd k'āgene hōr trōgn, wen ir werd am šabes līxt ōtsindn, wen ir werd xale nemen, dan werd aix aux di erd tsūnemen, de waser werd aix āx tsūnemen, dos faier werd aix āx ferbrenen.)